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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 5, May 1985

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26 July 1985

# SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 5, May 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## LEARNING FROM UNCLE HO'S MASS VIEWPOINT, STRENGTHENING THE PARTY'S WORK AMONG THE MASSES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] This year, we commemorate the 95th anniversary of the birth of the esteemed Ho Chi Minh.

This occasion is an opportunity for us to recall the enormous service performed by Uncle Ho--the person who founded and trained our party, the person who charted the course for our country's revolution, the person who struggled throughout his life for the independence of the fatherland, for the happiness of the people, for the ideals of communism.

Uncle Ho was the brilliant leader of the Vietnamese revolution and also an outstanding militant in the national liberation movement, in the international communist and worker movement. Commemorating the anniversary of his birth also provides us with an opportunity to review the many valuable lessons he taught. Now, especially, we must make every effort to learn from his revolutionary virtues and continue to cultivate fine personal qualities within ourselves so that we are capable of meeting the requirements of our revolutionary tasks in the new stage.

The revolutionary virtues of Uncle Ho were those of a great communist. They encompassed many noble qualities, qualities that reflected the perfect combination of the progressive thinking of our times and the very best of our nation. One of the important lessons in revolutionary virtues that we learned from Uncle Ho concerns his mass viewpoint.

The mass viewpoint of Uncle Ho was the mass viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. It was characterized by boundless love for the masses and absolute confidence in their tremendous revolutionary capabilities and creative talents.

During the very first years of the revolution, in the line he elaborated for saving the country, Uncle Ho pointed out: "The revolution is the common undertaking of all the people, not simply the work of one or two persons." He stressed the important role played by the mass of workers and peasants: "Workers and peasants are revolutionaries," "are the base of the

revolution."(1) Uncle Ho adopted the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism concerning the worldwide historic mission of the working class at an early date. In 1923, at the rostrum of the congress of the Peasant International, Uncle Ho said: "In the present age, the working class is the class, the only class, that has the historic mission of leading the revolution to final victory..."(2)

In the face of every difficulty and challenge, whether active overseas or at home and during the days of his imprisonment in the jails of the imperialists and reactionaries as well as when the revolution won victory and political power had been put into the hands of the people, Uncle Ho always had firm confidence in the masses. He said: "The revolution is an undertaking of the masses, not the undertaking of a hero. The success of our party lies in the facts that our party has organized and tapped the inexhaustible revolutionary forces of the people, has led the people in struggle under the inevitably victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism."(3) He often repeated the words spoken by our fellow countrymen in Quang Binh and Vinh Linh during the days of the bitter fight against the U.S. imperialists to show just how large the power and the creative capabilities of the masses are: "Without the support of the people, no job can be accomplished, regardless of how easy it might be; with the support of the people, every job can be accomplished, regardless of how difficult it might be." President Ho frequently stressed the role played by the masses in socialist construction: "Socialism can only be built with the full awareness and creative labor of tens of millions of persons."(4)

As one who unselfishly struggled throughout his life for the cause of national liberation, for the noble ideals of communism, Uncle Ho was also someone whose love of the people was exceedingly deep and broad. He said: "I have but one desire, one overriding desire, namely, to make our country totally independent, our people totally free, to insure that each of my fellow countrymen is well fed and well clothed, is happy"(5); "each day...that my fellow countrymen are suffering is a day that I neither eat nor sleep well."(6) He constantly reminded the cadres and party members of all sectors and levels to wholeheartedly serve the people, to look after the people's living conditions.

He extended his love to each and every person, to each age group, each stratum of the people, to his fellow countrymen of all ethnic minorities and religions, especially to his fellow countrymen in the fraternal South, who were "the first to leave, the last to return" in the resistance for national salvation. There are countless moving examples of this infinite love of his. Shortly before he died, he stated: "To all the people, the entire party, all troops, all youths and children I leave my boundless love"(Testament). At the same time, he advised: "The party must adopt very good plans for developing the economy and culture with the aim of constantly raising the standard of living of the people"(Testament).

Together with this boundless love, Uncle Ho lived a very honest and simple life, a life close to the masses. Moreover, he fused his life with the life of the masses.

One important line of thinking in the mass viewpoint of Uncle Ho that he asserted at an early date was: the people are the masters of the state, the masters of the new system and every agency of state government, every cadre and party member and all state personnel are the servants of the people. He said: "Ours is a democratic country. The highest position is occupied by the people because it is they who are the masters..."(7) "All agencies of the government, from the national level to the villages, are the servants of the people."(8) He constantly advised cadres and party members: "You must love and respect the people. You must truly respect the people's right of ownership" and "wholeheartedly serve the people."(9) We have a glorious obligation to the party, to the people: serving as the loyal sons and daughters of the party, as the devoted servants of the people throughout our lives."(10) He harshly criticized bureaucracy, authoritarianism, contempt for the masses, violations of their right of ownership and the failure to concern oneself with their living conditions.

Our people loved and respected Uncle Ho very deeply, they believed in Uncle Ho because he loved them, believed in them and struggled throughout his life for their happiness.

His feelings for them and their feelings for him were a model of the relationship between the leader and the masses.

Learning from Uncle Ho's mass viewpoint is a matter of extremely important significance to our cadres and party members, especially in the current stage of the revolution.

Our party was born 55 years ago. During the past 55 years, under the banner of Uncle Ho and the party, our country's revolution has won exceedingly brilliant victories. The victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past half century and more have been victories of the party's correct and creative revolutionary line as well as victories of the party's work among the masses.

Our party has gained a wealth of valuable experience in this work. Throughout the course of its activities, our party, instilled with the thinking of Uncle Ho, has always attached importance to its work among the masses, considering it to be a task of strategic significance. Each line, position and policy of the party reflects the aspirations of the masses and is designed to serve their interests. Our party has also skillfully combined efforts to satisfy immediate interests with efforts to satisfy the long-range interests of the masses. In every job it undertakes, our party has confidence in the masses, relies upon the masses, propagandizes and educates the masses well, mobilizes the masses and elicits from the masses a high degree of activism and creativity in revolutionary activities. As a result, the party has the full trust and support of the masses. Also as a result, our people have made extraordinary strides forward in every respect and made extremely large contributions to the cause of revolution. It can be asserted that one of the special characteristics of our country's revolution is that our party has established a fine tradition regarding the relationship between the party and the masses.

In recent years, under the light of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party, new levels of development have been reached in the party's work among the masses. Many localities and basic units have attached importance to mass agitation, launched revolutionary action movements of the masses and recorded many noteworthy achievements in the performance of the common tasks of the party and the implementation of local socio-economic programs.

Generally speaking, however, our work among the masses is not meeting the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage. The revolutionary movements of the masses are not strong or uniform, the returns from these movements are still low and many places have no movement. Many party organizations and party committees have been giving light attention to work among the masses, have not properly utilized the functions of the various organizations that make up the proletarian dictatorship system and have not established coordination among these organizations in work among the masses. Many cadres and party members are remote from the masses and either do not or do not know how to perform work among the masses, thereby losing their role among the masses as leaders. Some cadres and party members have regressed and become deviant, thus harming the relationship between the party and the masses. Bureaucracy, leadership by fiat, authoritarianism, the absence of a sense of serving the people and violations of the people's right of ownership are still rather widespread. The activities of the mass organizations have been improved slowly, are not closely tied to life and do not satisfy the legitimate requirements and aspirations of the masses. These are shortcomings that we must give our attention to correcting.

Of foremost importance in performing successful work among the masses is the need for the various party committee echelons, organizations of the party and other organizations within the proletarian dictatorship system to have a deep understanding of the mass viewpoint of Uncle Ho and the party and fully recognize the importance of the party's work among the masses. The Political Report at the 5th National Congress of the Party pointed out: "In the socialist revolution and, today, when our country's revolution has the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the importance of mass agitation has not decreased, but increased."(11)

Above everything else, attaching importance to work among the masses means constantly strengthening the close ties between the party and the masses. These close ties are a fine tradition, are a tremendous strength of our party. They are also a requirement in the nature of a principle of a Marxist-Leninist party. Attaching little importance to work among the masses and not giving attention to maintaining the ties between the party and the masses are contrary to the thinking of Marxism-Leninism, contrary to the line and viewpoint of the party. They lead to bureaucracy and remoteness from the masses, to the lack of vigilance against the enemy and weaken the strength of the party and proletarian dictatorship state. Lenin pointed out that one danger facing a party in power is that of becoming remote from the masses and severing the ties between the party and the masses.

It must be clearly understood that "the task of the party in its work among the masses in the new stage is to implement and uphold the right of socialist

collective ownership of the working people in the successful performance of the 'two strategic tasks' and 'three revolutions,' in successfully building the new system, the new economy and the new culture, successfully molding the new, socialist man and firmly defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland"(Party Secretariat Directive Number 53 on improving the party's work among the masses).

The right of collective ownership is the synthesis of the interests and obligations of the working people in every field of activity and must be implemented by means of the combined strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system on the basis of concretizing and codifying the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages."

The directive of the Party Secretariat made the following very important points with regard to meeting the requirements stated above: "The entire party must perform work among the masses and lead all party, government and mass organizations in performing this work for the purpose of carrying out the tasks of the party and state. Work among the masses must be performed at the basic units, must be well adapted to each type basic unit, to each category of persons among the masses. Maintaining close contact with basic units, maintaining close contact with the masses, becoming one of the masses, tying oneself to the masses must be the workstyle of each cadre and party member, each manual worker and civil servant. All party organizations and party committees must constantly insure that all cadres and party members have a thorough understanding of the viewpoints presented above in every activity and job of the party, the government and the mass organizations."

As has been frequently pointed out by our party, the right of collective ownership of the working people must be implemented through revolutionary movements of the masses. These are also how the results of work among the masses are measured. Of importance at this time is the need to insure that the revolutionary movements of the masses yield practical results from all three perspectives: socio-economic and security-national defense; the education and molding of the new, socialist man; and strengthening the political base and making the organization of the party, the government and the mass organizations solid and strong.

To accomplish this, the various party committee echelons and the basic organizations of the party must have a thorough understanding of the lines and policies of the party and establish correct goals and programs of action for themselves. On the other hand, they must orient the revolutionary action movements of the masses toward those matters that are of key importance during each period of time. While stepping up production and performing each of their work tasks well, they must fully concern themselves with the living conditions of the people, truly respect the right of ownership of the people and guarantee the masses of their right to discuss and inspect all work that is directly related to them. The party committees must guide the agencies of the government and the mass organizations in closely coordinating with one another, achieving a combined strength and intensifying the revolutionary movements of the masses in every field. In the immediate future, attention must be given to promoting the socialist emulation movement to achieve higher

productivity, quality and efficiency in an effort to successfully complete the 1985 socio-economic plan.

To perform good work among the masses, the organizations of the party must constantly keep abreast of the thinking and the living conditions of the various strata of the people and adopt policies that promptly resolve the problems raised by the masses. The party committees must regularly conduct inspections to determine how well the various sectors of the government and the mass organizations are fulfilling their responsibilities in work among the masses and coordinate their efforts in this work. The practice of key leaders of the party and government periodically meeting with the masses at basic units and listening to their opinions concerning the positions and policies of the party and state must be observed. All party members must engage in mass propaganda and agitation where they work and live, must themselves set good examples in labor, work and everyday life and must maintain good relations with the masses. Work among the masses must be considered a standard by which the qualifications of party members are measured, by which pure, solid and strong party organizations and party chapters are measured. The party committees must train their cadres and party members in how to perform work among the masses.

With the party in political power, the agencies of government are the thread that links the party to the masses in all fields of social life. To help make positive contributions to strengthening the ties between the party and the masses, it is a fundamental necessity that government organizations take positive steps to improve their methods of management and their work methods in order to truly uphold the right of collective ownership of the people and gain their widespread participation in building and managing the state, building the economy and managing society. In particular, government agencies must display a high sense of serving the people, must maintain good relations with the people. Bureaucracy, arrogance, authoritarianism and irresponsibility as well as everything that violates the right of ownership and the interests of the masses must be harshly criticized.

To fulfill their role and function in the new stage, the mass organizations must improve the contents of their activities and the methods by which these activities are conducted so that they are well suited to each category of persons and meet the requirements of the revolution and the people. The mass organizations must eliminate administrative bureaucracy and activities that are activities in form only from the way they operate. They must vigorously direct their efforts toward the basic units, thoroughly adapt their activities to the different types of basic units and insure that their own basic organizations conduct dynamic, practical activities and widely rally the various strata of the masses.

We are confident that, with the concern of the various party committee echelons and the efforts of and coordination among the various organizations within the proletarian dictatorship system, the party's work among the masses will surely be strengthened and undergo important changes that strongly stimulate the successful completion of our revolutionary tasks in the new stage.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume II, pp 181-187.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"... 1980, Volume I, p 157.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, p 803.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve quan diem quan chung,"[Concerning the Mass Viewpoint], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 69.
5. Ibid., p 33.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"....., p 244.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve cong tac hau can quan doi,"[Concerning the Army's Rear Service Work], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 46.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"[For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 58.
9. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung,"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 114.
10. Ibid., p 115.
11. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[The Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 118.

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## THE GREAT EPIC

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 7-15

[Speech by Le Duan at the 29 April meeting in Hanoi marking the 10th anniversary of the complete victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation]

[Text] Comrades and friends,

Dear foreign guests,

Today, the people and combatants throughout our country, together with the people of the fraternal countries and all of progressive mankind, jubilantly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the great victory of the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign in the spring of 1975, which crowned our anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation.

Ten years have passed since the complete liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of the country. Time and facts ever since have further deepened our perception of the historic confrontation between the Vietnamese nation and U.S. imperialism as well as of the significance and causes of the victory of our resistance war. The resistance against the United States for national salvation was the biggest trial for the Vietnamese nation since the 1,000-year long brutal enslavement by northern feudalism before and after the Christian era.

In the past, our nation was the victim of a brutal policy of assimilation and obscurantism of ancient and medieval times. Today, it is the barbarity of an imperialist power which styles itself as the most civilized in the world and which used the utmost of its strength and almost all the latest achievements of science and modern technology for extermination and enslavement purposes. The dark design of the United States was to turn Vietnam into a testing ground for its worldwide battle against the national liberation movement and socialism.

For their own national survival and fully conscious of their historical mission towards other nations, our people accepted all sacrifices and courageously confronted U.S. imperialism, foiling its war strategies one after



another and eventually defeating completely its neo-colonialist war of aggression, the biggest, longest and fiercest war since World War II.

The victory over U.S. imperialism was the greatest epic in the millennial history of national construction and defense of the Vietnamese people. This resounding victory put a definitive end to the Western imperialist rule which had lasted 117 years in Vietnam, redressed our humiliation and grievous experience of an enslaved nation, marked a great turning point in our national history and ushered our country into the era of independence, freedom and socialism.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the outcome of the August 1945 revolution was firmly defended throughout the two resistance wars, first against the French colonialists and then against the U.S. imperialists. Today, it has become the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a staunch member and a strong outpost on this side of the Pacific of the socialist community, and a positive factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese people's victory over the U.S. aggressors was one of the greatest events in modern history. This victory smashed the U.S. imperialists' fiercest counter-attack on the revolutionary forces since World War II. It helped weaken the imperialists' system, increased the strength and offensive posture of the three revolutionary currents, generated a new, worldwide movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and strongly encouraged the struggle of national liberation in many Asian, African and Latin American countries to move forward and win new successes.

In Indochina, the victory of our country together with that of Laos and Kampuchea has strengthened the strategic and militant alliance between the three nations and led to the formation of an interconnected block of three fraternal countries together advancing to socialism and closely bound to the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community. This great result is exerting an increasing profound influence on peace and national independence in Southeast Asia as well as on the general situation in Asia and the world.

Comrades and friends,

We won in the resistance war against U.S. imperialist aggression because ours was a just cause and because we dared to fight and knew how to fight and how to win, so that the longer we fought the stronger we became and eventually we were strong enough to overpower the enemy and crush his aggressive will.

Our strength was not just military strength, still less the strength of weapons and money alone. It was the sum total of our military, political, social and cultural strength, the strength of the whole country and people fighting the enemy on both the frontline and in the rear.

It was a high level promotion of all factors--ideological, moral, material and technological--and the combination of the organizational talent in leadership and command with the combat capacity and dynamism of our people and armed forces.

Our strength was the invincible strength of the Vietnamese revolution accumulated through nearly half a century of struggle under the leadership of the CPV and the great President Ho Chi Minh. It was the crystallization of the combative tradition and strategic talent of our ancestors. But above all, it was the strength of our working people exercising their mastery in the new era, and the strength of our nation combined with that of our time.

For several millenia past, the community of ethnic groupings in this country conducted many fights against aggressive forces to defend national independence and unity and preserve and build their beautiful culture. A battle-hardened nation, the Vietnamese early acquired the sense of mastery of their country, were animated by ardent patriotism and great heroism and asserted their own noble spiritual values.

In the process of their struggle under the leadership of the CPV and in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the Vietnamese people, first of all the working people, have step by step absorbed progressive ideologies and the very best of mankind and perceived more and more clearly their role of master of their national destiny, the process of social revolution and their own right to life, and in fact, have stood up to become the master of the country and society. That has also been a process of their growing awareness of their historic mission in the common revolutionary cause of the world people.

The Vietnamese revolution from the success of the August Revolution to the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists, already mingled with the three great currents of our time, representing the trend of development from national independence to socialism, actively contributing to the world people's revolutionary cause while being reinforced by the revolutionary forces of our time. When the U.S. imperialists launched their war of aggression the Vietnamese revolution already possessed the strength of the working people in a position of mastery, of a nation determined to fight and win, a strength which fused with the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our time.

Our winning strength was actually the strength of the banner of national independence and socialism upheld by our party ever since its founding, the strength of the line of deploying simultaneously and in close combination two revolutionary strategies in the two zones of the country during the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation: the people's national democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North, with one and the same objective of achieving national liberation and national reunification and advancing the whole country to socialism. This line clearly charted the road forward of our country, cleverly combining our people's fundamental demands with the objectives of our time, thus enabling us to win the great assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and the heartfelt support of the revolutionary movements and progressive people throughout the world, including the progressive American people.

Vietnam's strength was heightened and multiplied by the strength of our time. The resistance of Vietnam was actually the merger of the nation and the era. Our victory was also the victory of the revolutionary and progressive forces

in the world, of the international solidarity we have enjoyed from our brothers and friends across the world.

Our winning strength was the invincible strength of the Vietnam people's war, including the people's war for national liberation in the South and the people's war for national defense in the North. The people's war for national liberation in the South was an all-round and protracted war conducted by the entire population along the consistent strategy of offensive with our composite strength, seizing control in order to attack and attacking to seize control, winning victory step by step before seizing complete victory. This was both a military and political war, combining fighting with uprisings, a war in which the three categories of armed forces were the core for the entire people to fight against the enemy, a war fought in two forms: the local people's war and the war fought by main force units, a war fought by three prongs of assault and in all the three strategic regions. The fighting art consisted in using small units to oppose big units, using a small army to oppose a numerous army, and all localities, all hamlets, villages, districts and provinces and the whole country seizing control to fight the enemy, and every citizen, young and old, men and women, fighting or taking part in the fight, using all weapons they could procure and fighting in their own ways, knowing how to limit the enemy's strong points and to develop our strong points, forcing the enemy to passively accept our own way of fighting, always taking the initiative of attack and creating a stronger posture and strength than that of the enemy to achieve victory.

The decisive factor of our victory was the leadership of our party, the battle-hardened and sagacious fighting vanguard of the Vietnamese working class and people. Firmly grasping the revolutionary and scientific character of Marxism-Leninism, our party worked out a correct, creative, independent and sovereign line, successfully solving many problems of strategies and tactics, revolutionary methods and military art in a special stage of our country's history. By all its practical deeds, our party mobilized, trained and developed to the highest level our people's revolutionary capabilities and creativeness, at the same time effectively capitalized on the strength of our time to increase our fighting force, thus creating the biggest possible force to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression.

Comrades and friends,

In the last 10 years, our people throughout the country have carried out a difficult and complicated struggle, recorded new exploits and new successes, thus creating a firm posture and mighty force to go forward and successfully materializing the cause of building and defending our socialist homeland.

Not long after we set about building socialism, our people had to take arms against an invasion by the expansionists and their lackeys, and have defeated two wars provoked by them on the southwestern and northern borders, thus firmly safeguarding the gains of the revolution. At the same time, we have fulfilled our obligation of helping the Lao people build and defend their country, helping the Cambodian people smash the genocidal Pol Pot regime, track down the remnants of the Khmer reactionaries in order to rebuild their country and bring their nation back to life.

These great successes have initially defeated the schemes of the Chinese ruling circles. But they have not yet reconciled themselves to defeat. Expansionism and hegemony is a long-term danger to our country.

Our people must remain vigilant at all times, each hour and each minute. So long as the aggressive forces have not abandoned their dark schemes, our people have to increase our defense capacities, stand ready to fight to firmly defend our fatherland's borders and fulfill our obligation to our two fraternal neighboring countries.

In the cause of socialist construction, a new and difficult task, our people have shown their courage and creative talent. Having upheld their mastery in the fight for independence and freedom our people have displayed it on a higher level in the system of collective mastery, generating initial but very important changes for our society.

The working people's socialist collective mastery in politics has been quickly established throughout the country. The exploiting strata have been basically abolished; the majority of the peasantry and other working people have joined the collective path; the socialist production relations continue to be established and consolidated.

The wounds of war have been healed and the economy has been restored. In recent years, progress has been made in agricultural and industrial production, especially food production. The economic structure is being rearranged; the managerial apparatus is being renovated; and science and technology are more and more associated with economy, production and construction.

Quick development has also been scored in education, culture and health care and the influence of the old regime culture is gradually being eradicated. Through the socialist revolution, the Vietnamese person has seen a new development, qualitatively, sentimentally and intellectually.

Life remains hard but our people's needs have been met in the most essential domains. The living standard in many rural areas has been bettered. National defense and security have been insured. Millions of working people have been given jobs according to the new redistribution of the work force. Millions of hectares of land and large sea areas have been reclaimed or exploited; and hundreds of major projects have been built, and the scientific and technical basis of the economy has been further strengthened.

Our people in the North, promoting their revolutionary awareness and zeal, have made worthy contributions to the whole country. Our people in the South who are enthusiastically and steadily advancing on the socialist path, have demonstrated their dynamism and creativeness in many fields. Throughout the country there have emerged more and more units and localities with an all-round and leaping progress; and a number of branches at the central level have begun to conduct their businesses with efficiency.

Realities have proved the correctness of the line on socialist revolution and on the building of a socialist economy set forth at the 4th Congress of the

party as well as the realism of the major targets and policies for the initial stage of the transition period laid down by the 5th Party Congress.

Our achievements might have been bigger if the party's policies had been better concretized and implemented, if experience had been summed up in time in order to redress our shortcomings and errors in the reorganization of the economic structure, in managerial work, in enhancing the people's right to collective mastery in production, in distribution, circulation and consumption, and in the ideological, cultural, organizational and cadre work. In recent years, we have made important progress in overcoming shortcomings, have better grasped the party's line and better realized the country's real socio-economic situation as well as the law of development of our nation.

In the years to come, we shall continue our efforts to make the economy and society stabilize and develop along the socialist lines, to overcome the immediate obstacles in order to lay a basis for successfully implementing the objectives set for the initial stage and embarking on the following stage as a precondition to step up socialist industrialization.

To that end, a correct economic structure must be built on the basis of the streamlining and reorganization of the present economy in close association with stepped up socialist transformation; we have to rationally combine industry with agriculture, balance production with the infrastructure, harmoniously develop the grassroots economy, the local economy and the national economy, make use of all economic sectors in production; harmoniously coordinate production, distribution, circulation and consumption; closely associate the national economy with the world economy through cooperation with the Soviet Union and all of CEMA, and through increased export and import operations and economic transactions with foreign countries.

We must urgently build the districts into agro-industrial economic units and the major cities into industrial centers of regional and national importance and at the same time, promote the role of the grassroots as the foundations, the very important role of the provinces and the key role of the economic and technical branches. Collective mastery must be exercised at all three levels--in the whole country, in the localities and at the grassroots. At each echelon, this mastery must also be exercised together by all its three respective levels.

The managerial mechanism must continue to be renovated and perfected step by step. We must always consider planning as the central task and the strongest economic lever, and closely associate planning with economic accounting and socialist business. We must combat bureaucratism and the obsolete government-subsidized method of management together with the tendency to run after the unorganized market; efforts should be made to strongly release all productive forces, quickly apply scientific and technical advances to production and businesses and increase productivity, quality and effectiveness.

The grassroots and localities' initiative in production and business must be expanded along with a corresponding heightening of their responsibilities and obligations to the whole country and strict upholding of the principles of a centralized and unified socialist economy so as to insure that the most

important source of accumulation remains in the hands of the central government.

Discipline must be upheld in all economic, cultural and social activities. Each laborer, each grassroots unit and each locality must work with discipline and in accordance with the state plan, and abide by law in their life. The laboring people's material interests must be given strong incentives and the localities' interests must be satisfactorily met. But it should be clearly realized that only when the whole country is independent and free can each person become his own master and can each locality live in prosperity and peace; and only with a developed national economy can each locality have conditions to prosper and the life of each citizen be improved.

The streamlining of the economic structure and the renovation of the managerial mechanism must aim first of all to advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

We have to promote the encouraging achievements already scored in agricultural production, concentrate efforts on developing agriculture comprehensively and at a high tempo on the basis of stepping up intensive cultivation and increasing and diversifying the crops together with a better use of the work force and land in order to expand the areas under cultivation, to develop stock-breeding, and solve the food and foodstuff problems alongside the expansion of industrial crops.

The existing capacity of our industry must be brought into full play while newly built projects must be effectively utilized in order to effect a real turnaround in industrial production including small industries, handicrafts, heavy industry, light industry and food industry, so that industry may have a direct impact on agriculture and push agriculture ahead with vigorous and steady steps.

A very imperative and fundamental task now is to establish the socialist order in the distribution and circulation of commodities. The state must control the social market on the basis of an expanding production and take positive steps to solve the questions of price, wages and money in order to reduce difficulties, and improve the living conditions of the workers, public employees and the armed forces, and to provide our economic operations with reliable yardsticks and bring into full play the role of distribution and circulation as an economic lever.

We must perfect the machinery of economic and cultural management in a way conformable to the economic structure and managerial mechanism, and insure the right to collective mastery of the working people under the leadership of the party and the management of the state. The party is the leader, the people are the masters and the state is the manager. All these three factors are indispensable and must be satisfactorily coordinated. That is actually the essence of proletarian dictatorship. Collective mastery is not just a production relationship. It is also a productive force. It is the greatest motive force to get the working people to enthusiastically work with discipline and with technical skills and to eagerly engage in study and research to create more and more cultural and material values for the country

and for themselves. All our efforts must be aimed at stirring up a real revolutionary movement of the masses, to build their own regime of collective mastery.

Dear comrades and friends,

In these days, all nations are recalling the great exploit of the heroic Soviet people and Army in their great patriotic war which played the decisive role in destroying German fascism and Japanese militarism. With that historic victory the Soviet people and armed forces have written the most brilliant and glorious pages of our time, saved all nations in the world from the fascist danger, saved the civilization of the human kind, and ushered in a period of unprecedentedly glorious development of the world revolution.

The success of the August Revolution in our country, which led to the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was inseparable from the Soviet Union's victory over fascism. From then on, all achievements in our fights for national salvation as well as in national construction and defense have always been linked with the strong support and valuable assistance from the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the Vietnamese people extend to the Soviet people their warmest congratulations and express their deep gratitude toward the fraternal Soviet people and wish them, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the CPSU headed by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, still greater successes in perfecting developed socialism so that the land of Lenin may further develop its role of the firm pillar of peace and the reliable mainstay of the world revolution.

Fascism has been destroyed, but the U.S.-led bellicose forces are still embracing maniacal plans against the Soviet Union, the socialist system, the international communist movement, the movement for national independence and all peace- and freedom-loving countries, in fact, are preparing acts of intervention and aggression in many regions. They are intensifying the nuclear arms race, including in outer space, in an attempt to regain military supremacy, thus seriously threatening the peace and security of nations.

The defense of world peace imperatively demands the coordination of efforts of all countries, political movements, organizations of the working people and the forces of national independence, democracy and peace in order to build up a broad movement to effectively prevent the nuclear arms race, ward off and eliminate the danger of a new world war, and defeat the bellicose and aggressive plans of the imperialists and their henchmen.

On the International Labor Day, we extend to the working class and all working people on our planet the Vietnamese people's warmest greeting and our firm belief that the great masses of working people united with the peace-loving forces throughout the world will certainly triumph over the dark bellicose forces, not allowing them to start a new world war and fan the flame of regional wars.

Upholding the peace banner of the great Lenin, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are persisting in their policy of easing the international situation, preserving peace, preventing a nuclear war and preventing the breaking of the present strategic military equilibrium. The Soviet Union has put forth many peace initiatives aimed at achieving disarmament and nuclear disarmament. We warmly welcome and support Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's 11 March 1985 statements and the new Soviet proposals at the resumed Soviet-U.S. talks.

More than anyone else, the Vietnamese people desire a lasting peace. We persist in the policy of holding dialogues in good faith among the countries and sides in Southeast Asia in order together to settle issues on the basis of respect for each other's fundamental national rights and non-interference from outside and to build a peaceful, stable, friendly and cooperative Southeast Asia. All obstacles put up to oppose the Cambodian people's revival and oppose the trend of dialogue and the restoration of peace and stability in southeast Asia must be removed.

Our people always treasure the friendship with the Chinese people. Our country is ready to normalize relations with China and we are making persistent efforts in this direction. However, we will resolutely retaliate against all acts of land grabbing and other acts of multi-faceted sabotage against our country.

Our people highly valued and still value the solidarity shown us by the progressive Americans at the height of the Vietnam war. We extend them our friendly greetings.

Our country is ready to normalize our relations with the United States in the interests of the two countries and of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Together with other peoples in Asia and the Pacific, our people are watchfully following the multi-sided cooperation among the bellicose, expansionist and militarist forces which are scheming to form a new front against the socialist countries and the countries struggling for national independence in this vast region. Let those who are attempting to step in the ruts of fascism draw the lesson of the past. Should they blindly start new adventures, they would certainly meet with humiliating defeats.

Our people have done their utmost to promote the fine relations between our country and the non-aligned movement with India as president, thus contributing to the vast struggle of nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America aimed at firmly defending and completing national independence, developing their economies and societies and safeguarding peace in each region and the world as a whole.

Comrades and friends,

On this glorious festive day, we feel all the prouder of our heroic people, the authors of this great revolution who have made noble and great sacrifices, who have devoted all their mental energy and physical strength to the complete



victory and who are now courageously working for the building and defense of their fatherland.

We are proud of our heroic armed forces, issued from the people and bound to the people like flesh and blood, who have fought with matchless valor and intelligence, devised innumerable original ways of fighting and recorded marvelous exploits, and who are holding their guns firmly to defend the country's border and discharge our internationalist duty in fraternal countries.

Many centuries have passed but the Vietnamese generation after generation continue to admire the services of the Trung sisters, Lady Trieu, Ngo Quyen, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Quang Trung and many other national heroes and heroines of the past. Their hearts are filled with immense pride as they recall the names of Bach Dang, Ham Tu, Chi Lang, Dong Da and other resounding victories of our forefathers.

Time will pass, but all the future Vietnamese generations will never forget the glorious exploits of the Ho Chi Minh era, the Nghe Tinh Soviet, the August uprising of 1945, the Dien Bien Phu victory and the great victory of the spring of 1975.

The present and future generations will forever remember all the heroes, the heroines and combatants who have laid down their lives in prisons and on the field of honor, all our combatants and countrymen who have shed their blood to win victories, bringing glory to our beloved country and honor to our nation.

All of us will forever recall the great services of the great President Ho Chi Minh, the beloved leader of our party and nation, the first Vietnamese Communist, the number one citizen of the independent, unified and socialist Vietnam, whose entire life is linked with the glorious page of history of the Vietnamese revolution ever since the founding of the party and with our people's glorious cause of resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

With boundless gratitude, our entire party, people and armed forces are turning their thoughts toward President Ho. We are extremely proud to have brilliantly implemented his last recommendations. Today, we all feel as if he were with us here on the day of victory.

The revolution at the present stage still meets with many difficulties and hardships, our people's life remains hard but our revolution is steadily forging ahead. In no period of our history has our country faced such bright prospects as today. Upholding proletarian dictatorship, bringing into full play the right to collective mastership, stepping up the three revolutions, doing our utmost to surmount the immediate socio-economic difficulties and going forward steadily, that is a work of historic significance and also the everyday deed and thought of the entire Vietnamese nation and of each Vietnamese. In this great work, more than ever before, the revolution is the festive day of the masses.

In the past, imbued with the spirit "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" our people have fought and won.

Today, giving full play to that spirit and taking it to a still higher level, our people vow to defend our independence and freedom forever, to build our country into a powerful socialist country in keeping with Uncle Ho's sacred testament.

Our mountains will always be, our rivers will always be, our people will always be.

The American invaders defeated, we will rebuild our land 10 times more beautiful.

All for the socialist homeland and for the people's happiness! The entire party, people and armed forces courageously march forward!

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## THE EPOCHAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 16-22

[Article by Hoang Tung]

[Text] In the early years of the 20th century, the fact that the existing division of the world market was not consistent with the new balance of power led to the first world war among the imperialist blocs of that time. The results were that war exacerbated the antagonisms of capitalism, weakened the imperialist system and plunged it into serious crisis. Strong revolutionary movements developed in the imperialist countries. Back then, Russia was one of the countries where imperialism was the weakest. Under Lenin's leadership, it separated itself from the world capitalist system and built socialism, thus proving for the first time Lenin's argument that the proletarian revolution could break out and win victory in a number of countries, even a single country, where the imperialist system was weak.

As soon as it came into existence, socialist Russia had to contend with the counter-attack by the counter-revolutionary alliance of 14 imperialist countries outside Russia and counter-revolutionary powers within Russia. They intended to crush the first socialist state in its infancy. But, also for the first time, the socialist system showed its robust vitality, preserved the gains of the revolution and won victory over the enemy.

The second world war was essentially the second counter-attack by the international alliance of imperialism against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During the 1930's, while the United States, Great Britain and France were slowly recovering from the 1929-1933 economic crisis, Germany healed the wounds of the war and developed strongly, hungry for new markets and intent on expansion.

Following the major crisis in the late 1920's and early 1930's, a segment of the capitalist system turned fascist and the threat of war mounted. This fascism began in Italy, a country desirous of expanding into North Africa and the Mediterranean, regions of British and French influence. The rise by Hitler, the leader of fascism, to power in Germany in January, 1933, marked an important step down the road of fascism's preparations for war. National socialism, which was based on the theory of fighting for political survival, with victory to the strongest, and the theory of national supremacy, held that

the Germans were the superior race and should be the rulers of the entire world. Hitler's ideology was radical chauvinism, revanchism and the most virulent anti-communism.

In Asia, the Japanese imperialists, spurred by their victory in the 1905 Japan-Russia war and the development that had taken place since World War I, began making preparations during the 1920's for a new war. In July 1927, the Japanese prime minister, Tanaka, the personification of militarism, publicly announced a plan stating that, because Japan was overpopulated and raw materials were scarce, Japan's survival lay in territorial expansion, beginning with the occupation of China and then all of Asia, with Japan ultimately becoming ruler of the world. Tanaka stressed: "A decisive battle with Russia in the north is unavoidable."

The above mentioned imperialist doctrines provided the foundation for the military alliance established in November, 1936 between Germany and Japan through the signing in Berlin of the so called "Anti-Comintern Pact." One year later, the Italian fascists joined the alliance. In essence, this alliance was not only directed against the Soviet Union, which stood as the major obstacle to fascism's plans to enslave mankind, but also against Great Britain, France, the United States and other nations.

The emergence of the fascist alliance posed a serious threat to Great Britain, France and the United States. However, these countries did everything they could to encourage the fascists to start a war against the Soviet Union, thereby weakening both sides and, in the end, allowing those who stood on the sidelines to gain control over the entire world.

However, due to the severity of the antagonisms among the imperialists, due to differences in their strategies and tactics toward the Soviet Union and as a result of the Soviet Union's military might and its correct foreign policy based on the interests of the revolution, the first blows struck by fascism came down upon the imperialist powers that had tolerated and supported fascism, had brought it into the international arena. Once again, history had proven that the origin of war lies in the nature of imperialism.

The German fascists' first blow against the West grew out of their scheme to establish a powerful material base for themselves for use as a springboard for their plan to crush the Soviet Union and take a fundamental step forward in their strategy to become the ruler of the world.

The attack by German fascism on the Soviet Union and the great war of national defense fought by the Soviet army and people brought the war into its second stage, its most important stage. The imperialist war had evolved into an historic conflict between socialism and fascism, the aggressive shock force of imperialism.

World War II officially began on 1 September 1939 when Germany invaded Poland. However, prior to then, from 1930 to 1939, Germany, Italy and Japan had waged many wars of aggression and annexation. By May, 1941, after Germany had occupied all of Europe (with the exception of the Soviet Union and the maritime countries), it looked as though German-Italian-Japanese fascism would

defeat what remained of capitalism and could not be stopped by any force. Meanwhile, during the first 3 years of the great war of national defense, the years that were the most difficult and violent, the Soviet Union, for all practical purposes, singlehandedly waged a life or death fight against the German army and vassal forces, singlehandedly brought about the fundamental, decisive turning point. It had completely reversed the situation and decided to bring the entire second world war to a victorious conclusion. No other state, no other nation, no other government, no other army within the anti-fascist alliance accomplished that feat. Generation after generation, mankind will never forget the great and immortal contribution made by the Soviet people.

The realities of the war showed that from June, 1941 on, Great Britain and the United States, although they were anti-fascist allies, pursued a policy of "sitting on a mountaintop and watching the tigers fight." They refused to open a second front as they had promised, even though they were fully capable of doing so. While supplying arms to the Soviet Union, they also secretly supplied arms to Germany. In mid-1944, once the outcome of the war had already been decided, they quickly landed forces at Normandy in France. Although they called this the opening of the second front, they actually took this action to impede the advance of the Soviet Union, protect capitalism and compete for a share of the victory.

It is historic fact that the victories of Stalingrad and Kursk crushed the overly ambitious strategic plans not only of Germany, but of Japan as well. The decisive turning point that the Soviet Union singlehandedly brought about forced Germany to abandon its offensive strategy, shift to a defensive strategy, prolong the war and plan to negotiate a compromise with the United States and Great Britain in order to oppose the Soviet Union. As regards Japan, it was forced to abandon its plan to invade the Soviet Union, abandon its strategy of winning a quick victory in the war and shift to a protracted war on the Asian continent. In turn, because they feared an attack by the Soviet Union, Japan's leaders did not dare withdraw the Kwantung Army from its position in northeast China along the border with the Soviet Union to send reinforcements to the other battlefields.

In 1943, the year that marked the basic turning point in the war, the Soviet army permanently blocked the path of German fascism into the Near East, the Middle East and India and permanently blocked the path of the "Mikado's" army into the Soviet Far East. At the same time, India and a few other countries pinned down the strongest strategic forces in order to subsequently wipe them out. The victory of the Red army in Europe gave the United States and Great Britain the time and ability to recover from their heavy defeats in the Pacific (they had suffered heavy defeats and losses in the face of the initial savage attack by the Japanese army) and start taking offensive actions. Clearly, the blows dealt by the Soviet army to the German fascists had an impact upon the military and political situations of Japan and upon the entire development of the war. Every member of the anti-fascist alliance made their own contribution to the victory that was won. Moreover, this common feat was not just the accomplishment of the allies, but was also contributed to by the brave fight and enormous sacrifices of the people and communist fighters of such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, Albania,

Rumania, Yugoslavia, France, Italy, Greece and Austria, of China, Mongolia, Vietnam, Korea and many other Asian countries.

However, as history shows, the main and decisive front in all of World War II was the Soviet-German front. The battles fought by the Soviet army against the Nazi army determined the outcome of the entire war. Not only did the final outcome of the war depend upon this conflict, but the entire subsequent development of the world revolution and the destiny of mankind depended upon it also.

The outcome of the war was a serious defeat to capitalism. Socialism, instead of being wiped out, won victory in one country after another, became a world system and began to play the role of determining the direction of development of mankind.

The victory of the war against fascism weakened and brought about the collapse of whole segments of the imperialist system, thereby creating the conditions for the strong development of the national liberation revolution. This new current of revolution was an offensive thrust aimed directly at the rear area of imperialism. In the face of the offensive position taken by the revolution following victory in the anti-fascist war, imperialism not only failed to win back positions that had been lost, but also continuously lost new positions. Through their victory in the war of resistance against France, the Vietnamese began the process of the collapse of old-style colonialism in the world. And, through their victory in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the Vietnamese people again directly contributed to accelerating the collapse of neo-colonialism. Those victories were closely tied to the feat of arms recorded by the Soviet Union by crushing fascism, closely tied to the constant growth and continuous victories in every field by the Soviet Union and the socialist community throughout the period following the world war.

The development of the world socialist system and the national liberation movement created two large currents of revolution that have had a direct impact from two different directions upon the centers of imperialism, have inspired the worker movement, the democratic and peace movement to mount direct attacks on the strongholds of imperialism, thereby exacerbating the internal contradictions and the general crisis of capitalism. The capitalist monster, particularly the United States, has shown its true self in the comprehensive crisis of unprecedented proportions that has existed ever since the victory over fascism, especially during the "post-Vietnam" period. The emergence of Maoism and the collaboration between it and imperialism have characterized the post-war period. During World War II, the Chinese people fought bravely against the Japanese aggressors and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. However, opportunistic powers in China refused to coordinate with the Soviet Union in a plan to fight Japan. They even hatched a scheme to allow Germany and Japan to bring down the Soviet Union while they preserved their forces and awaited an opportunity to carry out their own separate plan. The current collaboration between China and the U.S. imperialists has its origins in schemes hatched in the past. Although this collaboration gives imperialism more claws with which to oppose communism, it is the product of the passive, defensive position, of the decline of imperialism, a decline that

cannot be stopped, in the face of the awakening of the peoples of all nations, in the face of the irreversible trend toward national independence, democracy, peace and socialism, in the face of the strength of the currents of revolution that are determining the direction of development of mankind.

The victory of the Soviet Union was the most brilliant feat of arms ever recorded in any age, was the next leap forward by mankind in the 20th century following the October Revolution. As Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPV said: "The victory of the Soviet Union in the war against fascism not only preserved and protected the first socialist state, but also created the conditions for the revolutions of scores of European and Asian countries to win victory, thereby taking socialism beyond the scope of one country and making it a world system, stimulating the vigorous development of the national liberation movements and creating a position from which a comprehensive attack could be mounted against imperialism."(1)

The 1945 August Revolution in Vietnam was a perfect example, an example set by the Indochinese Communist Party, of seizing the opportunity resulting from the victories of the Soviet Union, leading all the people in an uprising to seize political power and establishing a nationwide people's democracy under the leadership of the working class.

Prior to the outbreak of the war, the Indochinese Communist Party, in keeping with the resolution of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, launched widespread campaigns against the threats of fascism and war. Through quasi-legal and illegal activities, the party mobilized, rallied and awakened the masses, preparing them for a war situation.

When the war broke out, our party, having correctly analyzed the situation, clearly defined the enemy and set the immediate political task, decided to shift the focus of its strategic planning and make the Vietnamese revolution's task of winning national independence the task of foremost importance. Our party established the Viet Minh Front, built base areas, intensified the political struggle and developed the armed forces. The people and the revolutionary armed forces of Vietnam went into combat in 1940 against both the French army and the Japanese army. The Japanese army invaded Indochina in June, 1940, when the French imperialists surrendered to Hitler. Once in Indochina, the Japanese fascists forced the Vietnamese to destroy their rice crops and plant jute and enacted many other cruel policies. In the space of only 3 months, some 2 million Vietnamese, nearly one-tenth of the country's population, died of starvation. The Japanese fascists also implemented a policy of ruthless terror. Thousands of communist fighters and people of Vietnam were arrested, imprisoned or executed. Under these extremely difficult circumstances, our party, despite the fact that its activities had to be illegal activities, still made every effort to promote the struggle against fascism, to support the Soviet Union and propagandized the victories of the Soviet army at every opportunity that presented itself.

The victories of the Soviet Union on the Soviet-German front and the Asia-Pacific front that forced the German and Japanese fascists into unconditional surrender not only strongly inspired our country's revolutionary movement, but

also created a direct and exceedingly favorable opportunity, an opportunity that arises but once in 1,000 years, for the cause of national liberation in Vietnam. After the national conference of the party on 13 August 1945 issued the general mobilization order to seize political power throughout the country and President Ho issued his directive stating that "a favorable opportunity is at hand; regardless of the sacrifices, even if we must burn down the entire Truong Son mountain range, we must be determined to win independence," the tide of revolution surged throughout northern, central and southern Vietnam. In the space of only 2 weeks, from the 14th (mainly the 17th) to the 25th of August, 1945, our people quickly toppled the entire ruling system of the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists and their lackeys, established a nationwide revolutionary government and victoriously carried out the great national liberation revolution, thereby ushering in a new era, the era of national independence and freedom.

As the organizer and leader of the Vietnamese revolution, our party, better than anyone else, understands the role that the significance and importance of the brilliant victory of the Soviet Union played in the 1945 August Revolution and the profound changes that have occurred in our country over the past 40 years.

With the victory of the 1945 August Revolution, the Vietnamese not only fulfilled their national mission, but also contributed to the resounding feat of arms that was the Soviet Union's victory over fascism throughout the world.

Historic fact shows that the U.S. imperialists helped to cause World War II by supporting and clearing the way for German fascism and Japanese militarism to unleash a war against the Soviet Union.

Following World War II, through a policy of taking advantage of the situation, sitting and waiting and preserving its strength, the United States gained economic and military superiority within the capitalist world and rushed to become the international gendarme. Throughout the 40 years following the war, by pursuing global hegemony, the United States reinstituted and continues to follow the policy it followed prior to the war. On the one hand, the United States has taken the place of the pre-war fascist powers, played the role as the center from which scores of wars have been unleashed, made every effort to win the arms race, carried out an arms buildup and created a tense international situation. On the other hand, they have encouraged the rebirth of West German revanchism and Japanese militarism. The tensions in the world and the threat of war are growing. The Reagan administration has set for itself the goal of gaining military superiority in the world by urgently pursuing the arms race everywhere, installing medium-range missiles in a number of western European countries, threatening nuclear war, accelerating the militarization of space and making every effort to consolidate existing alliances and promote the establishment of new military alliances, most importantly the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul axis, which, for all practical purposes, includes Beijing as well, with the aim of opposing the revolution and peace throughout the world and facing mankind with the threat of a destructive nuclear war.



Therefore, the lesson to be learned from World War II is that we must keep abreast of and analyze the political line and the policies of the imperialist countries and other reactionary powers and expose the stratagems and lies designed to conceal the fact that they are making preparations for war in order to prevent a war before it breaks out.

We must expose their scheme of disorienting the masses concerning where the origin of wars lie, the purpose of which is to sow confusion with regard to who starts wars and who is defending themselves. Special attention must be given to the fabricated charge of Soviet and Vietnamese "hegemony" raised by the Chinese reactionaries as well as their so called "respond in self-defense" policy, both of which turn aggressors into the victims of aggression and vice versa. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the other reactionary powers in the world have either expressed their support of or displayed an attitude of indifference and ignorance toward the U.S. policy of starting wars and creating a tense international situation, toward the anti-communist campaign of the United States and its allies, thereby repeating the negative lessons of the social democratic parties that wavered back and forth prior to World War I, which is very dangerous. Silence in the face of a crime is also a crime.

In view of the present situation surrounding the bitter class struggle in the world, the most effective way to prevent war is to constantly give our attention to increasing the strength of the socialist state in every respect. In World War II, despite being in a disadvantageous position during the early period of the war when Germany launched the surprise attack and broke its treaty commitments, the Soviet Union stood firm in the face of serious challenges, challenges that had brought down scores of bourgeois states, including the most powerful of that time, and, in the end, crushed fascism, recorded the most brilliant feat of arms in the history of man and made an invaluable contribution, one that reflected the invincible strength of socialism. For the first time in history, mankind had witnessed the strength of socialism, had witnessed a great victory by socialism.

Genuine fighters for peace clearly recognize that the Soviet Union made the most decisive contribution to the victory over fascism and is the most steadfast and strongest defender of peace today. It was as a result of the active and effective participation of the Soviet Union that the Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam and other conferences among the allies were successful. Throughout the past 40 years, the Soviet Union has waged the most determined, most continuous struggle for the cause of peace. As a result, present efforts to intensify the peace movement cannot be separated from supporting the line and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community; from supporting the appropriate measures taken by the Soviet Union to retaliate against the schemes and actions of the imperialists and bellicose powers to create a tense situation and undermine peace and detente; from supporting the determined policies of the Soviet Union aimed at preventing the U.S. imperialists from achieving military superiority throughout the world; and from supporting the just stand, a stand that conforms with both reason and sentiment, taken by the Soviet Union in the arms and disarmament negotiations with the United States. In particular, we must

make every effort to smash the arguments of the imperialists and all anti-Soviet powers about the so called "threat of war from the Soviet Union."

Today, our country is at peace but must contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists while being ready to deal with the possibility of the enemy unleashing a war of aggression, the scale of which could vary. Our people are always desirous of restoring their friendship with the people of China and normalizing the relations between the two countries. However, as long as the Chinese authorities continue to pursue a policy of hegemony and hostility toward Vietnam, we must constantly be highly vigilant, must defeat each of their schemes to weaken and annex Vietnam. As a nation that has fought for many years and won victory over every aggressor force, our people will surely firmly defend the whole of their sacred territory and their independence and freedom.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet nam"[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume I, pp 663-664.

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## HO CHI MINH CITY: TEN YEARS OF CHALLENGES, TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 23-34

[Article by Nguyen Van Linh, member of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee]

[Text] The unparalleled victory of the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975, the pinnacle of which was the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, ushered in a new era for our nation. In this new era, having overcome countless difficulties and challenges during the past 10 years, Ho Chi Minh City is very pleased with the achievements that have been recorded by the country as a whole and the achievements of the city itself, included among which are some new and very important lessons, lessons that pertain to successes as well as mistakes and weaknesses. Our city embarked on the new stage by working hard to overcome the aftermath of the war of aggression and quickly stabilize the situation in every respect.

When the United States withdrew and the puppets collapsed, they left behind a city that they had made every effort to turn into a political and military nerve center of theirs, a city with a life of false prosperity, with an economy that supported the war and was dependent upon foreign countries. They also left behind some one-half million puppet troops, including many generals and colonels and 300,000 puppet government personnel. There were no less than 1 million unemployed, approximately 1 million disabled and hundreds of thousands of orphans with no means of support. But the most harmful and persistent remnants were the poisons of the reactionary, degenerate culture that had destroyed the souls and bodies of some youths and teenagers, turned some 50,000 women into prostitutes, turned tens of thousands of persons into drug addicts and shattered countless families. In the outskirts of the city lay rural areas that had been reduced to rubble and abandoned as a result of the destructive war and the policy of "forced urbanization." Taking advantage of the complex political and social situations that existed prior to and after liberation day, they also spread damaging rumors that caused more than a few persons to panic, rumors about the impending "blood bath," about "girls being forced to marry disabled communist war veterans!" Mention must also be made of the spies inserted by the United States and other reactionary powers who continued to resist and attack the revolution by every means possible.

However, the people of the city are part of the nation of Vietnam and as such possessed the remarkable strength of patriotism and confidence in the revolution. With this strength, the working class, together with the laboring people, students, pupils and other fellow countrymen of all walks of life and all age groups in the city and its outskirts arose and coordinated in splendid fashion with the swift five-pronged military offensive to liberate the city. During the first days following liberation, it was they who maintained local order and security, who quickly restored every aspect of social life to normal. The management of the city was taken over virtually intact: electricity and water service was not interrupted for even 1 hour; the radio station remained in continuous operation; and the television station began broadcasting again only 12 hours after the city was liberated. These and countless other events testified to the intelligence, creativity and courage of the working class and patriots, of the sons and daughters of the city.

With the support of masses of such quality, the revolutionary government, while establishing itself on the various levels, immediately turned its efforts toward managing and regulating every aspect of the city's life, with the most pressing task being to quickly stabilize the situation politically, economically and socially. No "blood bath" ensued, only national unity and harmony.

The city conducted a campaign to report achievements in order to provide each family with an opportunity to tell others about their patriotic efforts, regardless of how small, during the resistance against the French colonialists and the resistance against the U.S. imperialists. Through the governments and mass organizations on the various levels, the party organization steadfastly explained the victory that had been won as a victory for the entire nation, explained that everyone could be happy and proud about the country being independent and free, including those persons who had been forced to serve as cannon fodder for the enemy and those who, for one reason or another, had to work for the puppet government. This also laid the initial groundwork for the party organization to establish and uphold the right of collective ownership of the city's working people. Only a number of persons had to be sent for long-term re-education and, one after another, they have been returning to rejoin their families. These persons, included among whom were a number of generals and colonels who owed blood debts to the people, were never made to feel shame, rather, the revolutionary government created the conditions and provided time for them to ponder the course of the nation and the country. Upholding our forefathers' principle of "triumphing over cruelty through the greatness of our cause, replacing brutality with love of one's fellow man," the party organization and government of the city effectively refuted every argument advanced by the enemy to distort the situation and gradually established national unity and concord within the city amidst an exceedingly complex situation. This national unity and concord, which were further strengthened and broadened through the National Assembly and People's Councils elections held in 1976 as well as subsequent years, truly became the strength and the solid foundation of the revolutionary government within the city.

While stabilizing the political situation, the city also focused its efforts on overcoming the economic, cultural and social aftereffects of the war and the neo-colonialist system. Through continuous, intense revolutionary action

movements among the masses, it overcame one very serious difficulty after another, especially during the years from 1978 to 1980, years during which the city encountered countless difficulties as a result of the failure of production to develop, the failure of virtually all efforts to improve the living conditions of the laborer, the fabrication of the "refugees" issue and the launching of the war along the border and the wide-ranging war of sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers...

During those difficult times, the city party organization displayed a high spirit of daring to act, daring to assume responsibility and took every step possible to overcome the obstacles being encountered in production by tapping the dynamism and creativity of cadres and party members, by upholding the right of collective ownership of the working class, farmers and mental laborers.

Under the timely light of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee and Political Bureau Resolution 26, the city found a way to extricate itself from its situation, bring about an explosion in the development of production and overcame the perils it faced, the consequences of which were incalculable.

Since 1981, the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, Resolution 01 of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee concerning the work of the city, the resolution of the 3rd Congress of the City Party Organization and, in particular, the profound statements of theoretical and practical value made by General Secretary Le Duan at the 3rd Congress of the City Party Organization set guidelines for the future and gave the party organization additional strength with the result that it truly embarked on the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism within the city.

As General Secretary Le Duan said: "Today, the city belongs to the people, to the entire country of Vietnam, and is a city that is advancing to socialism. Here, the past has left behind serious problems in many areas of life. However, this city is also a place where especially favorable, objective economic conditions have come together, conditions that no other province or city in our country enjoys. A full analysis of the city's special characteristics shows that progress must come about by seizing upon the two very basic factors of collective ownership and socialist industrialization."(1) The general secretary also instructed the party organization to endeavor to "develop, in the not too distant future, Ho Chi Minh City into a city that is strong in every respect, into a socialist city that has a modern industrial and agricultural structure, a city that is progressive from the standpoint of both culture and science, into a civilized, modern city of prominence in Southeast Asia."(2)

In Resolution 01 concerning the work of the city, the Political Bureau emphasized: "Ho Chi Minh City is a major economic center, is a center of international trade and tourism of our country. Its political importance is second only to that of the capital Hanoi. The working people of Ho Chi Minh City possess ardent patriotism and a staunch revolutionary tradition; at the same time, they are very dynamic and rich in creativity in their production

and businesses... Especially important are the facts that the city's economy is closely tied to a region that produces an abundance of products from agriculture, forestry and fishing (former Zone B2), has a developed system of commodity production and possesses large amounts of labor and arable land, a region that provides the city with a rear area rich in grain, food products, agricultural products, raw materials, etc." As regards guidelines for development, the Political Bureau pointed out that "the city is capable, together with the provinces of the region, of quickly establishing an industrial-agricultural economic structure and closely combining the domestic economy with the overseas economy, thereby making very important contributions to the overall economic development of the entire country and the friendly countries of Laos and Cambodia..."

Evaluating the city's strengths and weaknesses, the Political Bureau observed: "Generally speaking, the city has retained its dynamism, its adaptability and its concern for efficiency in production and business. These are positive, very valuable factors that must be developed upon." At the same time, it voiced the following words of harsh criticism: "Vigilance against the enemy's acts of sabotage is not as high as it could be at a time when the imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and other hostile powers are looking for every way to maintain their very intense acts of sabotage against us, especially on the distribution-circulation front, the most critical front in the struggle between ourselves and the bourgeoisie in commerce and other opposition forces, between socialism and the capitalist spontaneity of small-scale producers and small merchants. The market is not being tightly controlled or managed, truly determined steps have not been taken to punish speculators and black marketers, light attention is being given to the struggle against the tendency to place sole emphasis upon profits...with the aim of gradually stabilizing and reducing prices." While studying Resolution 01, the city party committee, displaying a high spirit of self-criticism, observed that the party committees and governments on the various levels within the city had relaxed the proletarian dictatorship not only on the distribution-circulation front, but also on many other fronts, including the ideological and cultural front.

The party organization deeply realizes that General Secretary Le Duan's instructions to it and Political Bureau Resolution 01 constitute a long-term program of action for the city in the 1980's.

#### Endeavoring To Build a City Worthy of Its Role as an Industrial and Scientific-Technical Center

Political Bureau Resolution 01 pointed out: "The city is a major industrial center, one that possesses rather well developed industrial capacity, especially in the consumer goods industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, which are very diverse. It has a corps of rather highly skilled manual workers and craftsmen, a large and talented scientific and technical work force and the infrastructure needed to support the development of industry, foreign trade and tourism." And, Resolution 01 stressed: "In Ho Chi Minh City and the South, in general, the economic theme during the initial stage is to virtually complete socialist transformation, reorganize social

production and begin the building of a number of material-technical bases of socialism."

On the basis of the party's economic line and under the direct guidance of the Central Committee, the city party organization defined its most important political task as concentrating its efforts on developing industrial, small industry and handicraft production.

The city took over existing industrial plants and much modern equipment and technology virtually intact. That special victory would have been impossible without the role played by the working class who, along with patriotic scientific and technical specialists, displayed bravery and intelligence by remaining at and providing security for their factories and warehouses in order to turn them all over to the revolutionary government.

Certain characteristics of the city's industry as it existed prior to liberation day must be understood. It consisted of the entire Bien Hoa industrial zone, which produced more than 80 percent of the entire industrial output of the South, and was controlled almost entirely by private individuals, a considerable portion of whom were ethnic Chinese. Consumer goods accounted for nearly 90 percent of industrial production. There was no machine manufacturing sector, no basic chemicals sector and no raw material industry. The production equipment industry and the consumer goods industry consisted mainly of machining and assembly work, final stage processing and product finishing. The industry as well as the entire economy of the South were developed mainly to provide local rear service support of the war of aggression of the United States and were nearly totally dependent upon sources of raw materials, supplies and spare parts in the capitalist countries. Closely tied to the city's industry was a force of manual workers and laborers in small industry and the handicraft trade that numbered approximately 200,000 persons, some 30,000 of whom were skilled craftsmen and 2,000 of whom were scientific and technical specialists whose standards and style of work were those of large-scale production, who worked in a disciplined, technical and highly productive manner.

During the first 3 years following liberation (1975-1978), industrial management was entirely new and complex to us and confusion was unavoidable in many areas. However, the start of transformation had many positive effects and generated enthusiasm among workers from their new position as collective masters. Stockpiled raw materials and supplies were still available and the difficulties encountered by workers in their everyday lives had not yet become acute, consequently, production developed rather quickly, increasing at an annual average rate of 27.1 percent during the 2 years 1977 and 1978.

In 1979 and 1980, the city's industry encountered towering difficulties: stockpiled materials had been exhausted; difficulties were encountered with energy; prices underwent major changes; the problems regarding the living conditions of workers earning a fixed income became acute; and it became evident that administrative management, bureaucracy and subsidization were restricting the development of production. The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers, unleashed the war along the southwestern border and the

war along the northern border and began waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against Vietnam, with Ho Chi Minh City becoming a key target of their sabotage. The situation was so difficult and complex and at times seemed so inextricable that some persons wavered, shrunk back and ultimately left their enterprises. However, the majority of the city's workers remained strongly patriotic, remained on their jobs, remained at their machines and enterprises. Instead of standing idly by, they joined management cadres and scientific-technical cadres in adopting correct approaches, developing new methods of operation and, through trial and error, removing the bottlenecks and restraints within the management mechanism, within production and business. And, it was in that critical situation that a turning point occurred within the city, a turning point marked by the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee in September, 1979 and Political Bureau Resolution 26 in June, 1980. The Central Committee, having analyzed the situation throughout the country, including the situation in Ho Chi Minh City, pointed out the harm that had been caused by the many years of administrative management and subsidization; at the same time, it set forth measures designed to resolve the problems facing production and bring about an explosion in the development of production; create the conditions for the various socio-economic segments to develop, with the socialist economy achieving the position of dominance; broaden the independence of the local economy within an organic relationship with the central economy and the economic-technical sectors; develop local sources of raw materials... We viewed the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum as we viewed Resolution 15 of some years ago, that is, as a resolution that opened the way for the advance of the revolution in the South.

Under the guidance of the Central Committee, the city party committee adopted Resolution 9 and introduced the policy of giving basic production units the independence to adopt supplemental plans, without relying upon or waiting for the upper level, and implement them by establishing ties between the city's industries and the provinces of the region in order to limit the need for workers at state-operated enterprises to take time off and receive only 70 percent of their pay because of the shortage of supplies and raw materials. In early 1979, model approaches, models based on using domestic raw materials and adopting subsidiary plans to increase production, even introduce new products, emerged at a number of basic production units, such as the Southern Laundry Powder Corporation, Tobacco Combine II, the 2 September Pharmaceuticals Enterprise, the Saigon Brewery, the Veterinary Medicine Enterprise, Jute Weaving Enterprise 13, the Thanh Cong, Phong Phu, Phuoc Long, Thang Loi, Caric, Silico, Sinco and Vinapro Textile Enterprises and so forth and in a number of provinces in the Mekong Delta, the East and the West.

With the assistance of a number of sectors on the central level, the city party committee and people's committee worked directly with basic units and began to resolve the problems with supplies, raw materials, energy and capital by making it possible for cooperation to be established between the central enterprises located within the city and the enterprises of the city itself, between the city and the neighboring provinces and initiating direct exports and imports in order to acquire the supplies, raw materials and fuel required to meet needs.



The widespread application of the new management system within industrial production and the introduction of contract and piecework wages in accordance with Council of Ministers' Decisions 25 and 26/CP effectively balanced the three interests, the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer, with greater attention being given to the interests of the individual laborer in view of the very low standard of living of workers and laborers.

The city then began to promote the approach of meeting needs through the four different sources of materials and supplies. Comprehensive economic ties were established between the city and the provinces. The precincts and subwards of the inner city were given the responsibility of establishing direct ties with the districts of the provinces within the region under the common guideline of establishing a regional industrial-agricultural economic structure.

In mid-1981, the city began to gradually develop its exports and imports, thereby creating the conditions for meeting industry's need for supplies, raw materials and parts. As a result of being able to display greater initiative, many production units began formulating positive plans from the basic level upward. Although they still lacked experience, rather comprehensive models of plans balanced by units themselves through economic ties, through multilateral cooperation and through export-import activities emerged, such as the Thanh Cong Textile Enterprise and a number of other enterprises, several precincts and subwards, small industry and handicraft units within the inner city, etc.

The movement to establish and learn from the example set by advanced model units, by production and management models within the various industrial sectors and trades provided further impetus to the city's industry, as a result of which it developed relatively quickly. The annual rate of industrial growth rose from 14.3 percent during the years from 1976 to 1981 to 26.8 percent during the years from 1982 to 1984.

By 1984, the production of practically all of the principle products of central industry, such as steel castings, electric wire, oxygen, paper, beer and finished cloth, was exceeding the plan. The production of the principal products of the city's industry, such as hand farm implements, finished bicycles, busses, electric fans of all types, medicine, plastic goods, fibro cement and so forth, also exceeded the plan. A number of sectors, such as the textile, bicycle, paper, marine product processing and electronics sectors, made investments in intensive development in order to increase their production capacity. The machine industry, which was virtually non-existent prior to liberation, now produces a number of pieces of industrial equipment, processing equipment for peanuts, jute and sugarcane, milling equipment, oil extraction equipment, equipment for use in paper production and so forth and produces a number of parts for internal combustion engines, textile equipment and equipment used within the communications-transportation sector.

The measures taken to extricate ourselves from the situation we faced were taken in industry as well as in small industry and the handicraft trades, consequently, they helped small industry and the handicraft trades to continue to develop at a high rate. During the past 10 years, the city was quick to recognize the potentials and strengths of its small industry and handicraft

trades. As a result, we have maintained and developed the city's role as the center of consumer goods production within the region and the entire country by producing a large volume and wide variety of products.

In 1984, as part of the city's overall victory on the economic front, industry, small industry and the handicraft trades produced 27.3 billion dong in total output (at fixed 1982 prices), a 30.1 percent increase over 1983. Of this amount, central state-operated industry produced 10.1 billion dong, an increase of 35.8 percent, the city's state-operated industry produced 4.8 billion dong, an increase of 50 percent, and small industry and the handicraft trades produced 12.4 billion dong, an increase of 23.5 percent.

While taking steps to resolve the problems posed by the management system, the city has increasingly concerned itself with the development of science and technology. The 3rd Congress of the City Party Organization, on the basis of a thorough understanding of Political Bureau Resolution 37 concerning the science-technology policy and Political Bureau Resolution 01, adopted a resolution on "promoting the scientific-technical revolution in a manner commensurate with its position of key importance among the three revolutions." This resolution defined the task involved in scientific and technical work within the city as: "Focusing our efforts on the rapid and widespread application of scientific achievements and technical advances with a view toward helping to reorganize production, raise labor productivity, improve product quality, quickly increase the production of worthwhile export goods, mold the new man and establish the new culture." (3) Prior to the congress, the city party committee issued Resolution Number 18 on "industry and science-technology supporting agriculture in the outskirts of the city and the edge of the inner city."

During the past several years, especially in 1984, the city has made much progress in introducing science and technology in production and everyday life. In a number of precincts, districts, subwards, enterprises and cooperatives in industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, models of science and technology closely tied to production have emerged and science and technology have gradually become a true production force. At these places, production and science-technology have developed and the standard of living of both manual and mental laborers has been improved. On the scope of the city as a whole, scientific-technical activities are more closely linked to socio-economic plans. Numerous research programs and projects have produced concrete results, such as the use of domestic raw materials and supplies to produce products that once had to be imported (as has been done at the Southern Laundry Powder Corporation and many other enterprises), the design and successful manufacture of many equipment parts for industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, the certification of a number of crop varieties and breeds of livestock and the high yields achieved through their introduction in production, and the initial completion of a number of research projects in the field of public health, culture, social affairs and education supporting the city and the provinces of the region. Efforts to publicize and provide information on science, management, innovations and the application of technology have developed well.

In 1981, while making every effort to accelerate the development of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, the city urgently set about transforming private industry and commerce, restructuring production and transforming and reorganizing a number of important economic-technical sectors. This time, having gained experience from the phase of transformation conducted in 1978, the city party committee, in strict compliance with Political Bureau Resolution 01 and under the guidance of the Party Central Committee, paid special attention to giving party members and cadres a full understanding of several basic views, namely, that transformation must be closely tied to construction, with primary emphasis upon construction; that the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technical revolution, must be carried out simultaneously; that transformation must have the purpose of developing production, improving the standard of living and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people; that transformation must result in the continual development of the five different segments of the economy toward socialism; and that the struggle between socialism and capitalism must be closely tied to the struggle between ourselves and the enemy.

The city is also making every effort to complete the transformation of essential sectors, such as the grain, pork and buffalo-cattle sectors, the fuel, vegetable, fish, fish sauce and soy sauce sectors, the production of student notebook paper, the outdoor markets (that do business in materials, discarded materials, equipment, machinery and parts), dealers who buy scrap materials, jewelers, restaurants and service businesses subject to class A and class B-A tax rates. At the same time, the city has also been transforming and organizing the sectors that do business in the principal industrial goods (sugar, cloth, the primary aluminum and plastic goods, paper, glass, bicycles and some essential bicycle parts, soap, laundry powder, leather and imitation leather and building materials) and a number of sectors that do business in cultural products and pharmaceutical products.

In late September, 1984, the city concentrated its efforts on preparing for the transformation and reorganization of private industry and commerce within the precincts and districts. Under the close, unified guidance of the standing committee of the city party committee and the standing committee of the city people's committee, the party committees and people's committees of the precincts and districts were put directly in charge of carrying out the transformation of private industry and commerce within their areas of jurisdiction. For wholesalers in commerce, large restaurants and large service businesses, "business cooperation" between the state and private merchants, a new model, was applied on a pilot project basic in the 1st and 5th Precincts and then gradually expanded to the other precincts. This effort has produced significant gains and taught us many valuable lessons.

Small retail merchants subject to class B and class C business tax rates, beginning with those at the various markets, have been organized into product sector teams that buy and sell their products jointly, buy products jointly and sell them separately or serve as sales agents for the state at a commission (in order to utilize their skills). Some outdoor markets have also been rearranged and stable sales points have been set up within them. In this way, we have separated poor laborers who do not have stable employment and

must temporarily support themselves by buying and reselling products from dishonest merchants, speculators and black marketers.

In this initial stage of transformation, the "business cooperation" model that we have employed has yielded marked returns: the state has instituted inventory and control for the purpose of simultaneously transforming and utilizing private commerce. Specifically, state-operated commerce now controls wholesale goods, has achieved an effective position in retail sales and will eventually control the social market. This model is also a transitional stage that is acceptable to private merchants. Certain interests of theirs are guaranteed by the state and the profit they earn is based on the amount of capital they contribute to the business. If they personally work at the store, they receive a wage, welfare benefits and bonuses, have an opportunity to use their skills to support socialist business, have the conditions needed to gradually transform themselves into productive workers for society...

One very important issue is that of drafting and implementing policies and measures concerning the transformation and reorganization of each product sector, especially the essential product sectors and a number of wholesale sectors.

In recent years, many models of sector management have emerged within the city, among which the Commercial Grain Corporation managed by Mrs. Ba Thi stands out. As a result of establishing direct ties with the provinces, organizing a good network to control the sources of grain by maintaining close contact with areas in which grain is procured, working with localities to open new sources of products, giving attention to meeting the needs of the locality and farmers in order to promptly support production, organizing a network of agents based on the Women's Union, knowing how to utilize and organize small merchants and so forth, the corporation has mobilized the grain required under quotas. In addition, it has also mobilized surplus grain to put in organized circulation and distribution, thereby gradually stabilizing prices and thwarting the efforts of private merchants to exploit farmers as well as consumers in the city through the tactics they employ in the procurement sale of grain.

Within distribution and circulation, the restructuring of the markets within the city is also something that has a direct impact upon the production and everyday lives of the working people. The partial restoration of socialist order within commerce has curbed, to some extent, the "business for business sake" approach, competition in the procurement and sale of products and profiting through the difference in prices for the same goods. It has helped to define the task of socialist commerce as supporting production and everyday life and, in this way, has molded the qualities of the state store personnel of the new system. At present, socialist commerce accounts for roughly 50 percent of the retail sales on the social market. It accounts for more than 90 percent of the rice products and 60 percent or more of the meat, soy sauce, sugar and so forth sold retail.

**Agricultural Cooperativization Closely Tied to the Transformation of Industry and Commerce Within the Countryside, to Building the New Countryside and Establishing the Industrial-Agricultural Structure of the City**

The rural areas in the city's outskirts currently measure a total of nearly 189,000 hectares. They represent more than 93 percent of the city's land and have nearly 86,000 hectares of farmland. Their population of 965,000 represents 28 percent of the city's total population. Some 560,000 persons in the city's outskirts are engaged in agriculture. Connected as they are to the provinces of Long An, Tay Ninh, Dong Nai and Song Be, the rural areas in the outskirts of the city were resistance base areas throughout the two wars of resistance against French and American aggression from 1945 to 1975, were always springboards for attacks on the center of the city and were the famous "belt of American killers."

Following liberation day, our fellow countrymen and the people's governments in the outskirts of the city faced countless difficulties and complex problems and had to simultaneously turn their efforts to several different pressing tasks: overcoming the very serious consequences of the war upon humans, upon villages and hamlets, upon arable land, land that was torn up, laying fallow and polluted with sulfates; maintaining security and order; restoring and developing production in order to support the lives of the people in the outskirts of the city and turn these areas into a food product belt, into a source of raw materials for industry and products for exportation; and carrying out cooperativization in suitable stages and in a manner closely tied to building the new countryside, to establishing the industrial-agricultural structure of the city.

Under the light of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, Resolutions 18 and 21 of the city party committee and, in particular, Directive 100 of the Party Secretariat, the working farmers in the outskirts of the city and its new economic zones, upholding their tradition of patriotism and always supportive of the party, have recorded very large achievements in their efforts to perform the tasks described above and steadily advanced the rural areas of the city along the road to socialism despite the stagnation of 1979 and 1980.

As regards production, after restoring the color green to the "white belt" of the years of the resistance against the United States, the city invested in the establishment of a specialized vegetable production area, industrial crop growing areas and high yield rice growing areas, in the development of hog, poultry, buffalo and cattle production, in an area cultivating shrimp for exportation, etc.

By 1984, the city had established a specialized vegetable production area measuring 2,500 hectares, thereby bringing the amount of area under specialized vegetable cultivation and the decentralized cultivation of seasonal vegetables to 15,000 hectares, a six-fold increase compared to the period immediately preceding liberation. As a result of applying many well coordinated scientific and technical measures related to intensive cultivation, the supply of electricity, water conservancy, the introduction of new varieties and so forth, vegetable output reached 259,000 tons in 1984, a

nine-fold increase compared to the period immediately preceding liberation, thereby meeting 70 percent of the city's vegetable needs and providing some vegetables for exportation.

With regard to industrial crops, the city has set guidelines for the development of a number of annual industrial crops, such as soybeans, tobacco, sugarcane, pineapples, peanuts, cashews and so forth, in specialized farming areas suited to each crop. Both the amount of area under cultivation and the output of industrial crops have increased many times compared to the period preceding liberation. The amount of area under the cultivation of sugarcane has increased 8 times and sugarcane output has increased 7.9 times, thus opening the prospect of the city becoming self-sufficient in sugar. The amount of area under the cultivation of soybeans has increased 11 times and soybean output has increased 11.3 times. The amount of area under the cultivation of tobacco has increased 2.5 times and tobacco output has increased 2.6 times. There are some 2,000 contiguous hectares under the cultivation of pineapples producing 13,000 tons in output. Some 1,200 contiguous hectares have been planted with cashews and have begun to be harvested. The output of industrial crops has provided some raw materials to small industry and the handicraft trades and made significant contributions to our exports.

With regard to grain, as a result of working hard to restore fallow fields to production, practice multicropping, expand the amount of area under cultivation and initiate intensive cultivation, as a result of utilizing new varieties and establishing high yield fields, output has risen with each passing year. Grain output reached 252,000 tons in 1984, twice as high as during the period preceding liberation, thereby providing us with 450 kilograms of grain per capita and meeting the grain needs of the agricultural population in the outskirts of the city while providing some grain for livestock production.

Forests have been planted on 26,500 hectares and scattered plantings of trees have been established in the precincts and districts. We have restored the Cerbera mangas and mangrove forests in Duyen Hai. Of important significance is the fact that in addition to the economic benefits derived from these efforts, we have been gradually restoring the ecology to a state of balance within the city.

In livestock production, despite the fact that many difficulties continue to be encountered with livestock feed, we have managed to record many achievements in production. For example, we have maintained and developed many new breeds of hogs and poultry and greatly increased the size of livestock herds. Compared to the period preceding liberation, the hog herd has been increased 2.5 times, the poultry flock 2.4 times and the buffalo and cattle herd 2.1 times. State-operated and household hog production, which have been developing quite well, now account for more than 30 percent of the city's total hog herd. The output of the livestock production sector meets 30 percent of the city's demand for meat of all types, 25 percent of its demand for fish and 80 percent of its demand for fish sauce. In the Cerbera mangas forests of Duyen Hai, we have established an area devoted to the cultivation of shrimp for exportation.

In 1984, the districts in the outskirts of the city and the sectors within the city's agriculture supplied roughly 20 million dollars worth of agricultural products for exportation. Duyen Hai District supplied a significant quantity of raw shrimp to support export activities.

With regard to improving the soil, the city invested in improving the sulfate, saline soil in the corridor from western Cu Chi District to Binh Chanh and Duyen Hai Districts and has turned this area once incapable of supporting crops, especially the "dead" land in Duyen Hai that had been ruined by herbicides, into an area capable of supporting farming, into an area of forestry, fishing and agriculture at state-operated enterprises, an area of mangrove forests, an area that cultivates marine products, raises industrial crops and so forth in coordination with developing small industry and the handicraft trades. The irrigation project supplying water from the Dau Tieng Reservoir to Cu Chi is the largest water conservancy project of the city. Following its virtual completion in 1985 and 1986, this reservoir will supply more than 135 million cubic meters of water per year to irrigate some 14,000 hectares of farmland.

In the transformation of production relations in the countryside, the city has completed the redistribution of cropland to poor farmers who had no farmland or lacked sufficient farmland. As regards the agricultural cooperativization movement, after overcoming the initial difficulties that were encountered, the city party committee conducted a general review to gain experience, learn from other localities and strictly comply with Party Secretariat Directive 100. It set forth guidelines for rectifying mistakes and shortcomings, successfully established solidarity among working farmers under the leadership of the party, upheld the principles of "voluntary association, mutual benefit and democratic management" and decided that implementing product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers was the most suitable step to take, thereby unleashing forces that have stimulated the development of production and encouraged farmers to begin earning their livings collectively.

The city has attached importance to closely tying the transformation of agriculture and the building of the new countryside to the transformation of industry and commerce and the transformation of the market in the countryside while coordinating the development of agriculture with the development of industry, in general, and the industry in the countryside that is managed by the state. The city has gradually expanded state-operated commerce and assisted farmers in establishing marketing cooperatives to bring means of production (farm implements, fertilizer, gasoline and lubricants, pesticides and so forth) and consumer goods to the countryside to support the production and daily lives of working farmers. The marketing cooperatives have also been entrusted with the procurement of agricultural and food products in order to gradually thwart and eventually put an end to the activities of bourgeoisie in the countryside and in the city as well who extend their tentacles into the countryside to compete with the state in both the procurement and sale of products.

Besides marketing cooperatives, there are also credit cooperatives, the purpose of which is to expand the availability of loans at appropriate rates of interest in order to help collectives and farmers develop production and

eliminate the problem of private individuals giving farmers loans at high rates of interest or pressuring them into selling their rice crops before they mature and selling other agricultural products. The state and cooperatives must organize local enterprises to provide processing services (such as the milling of rice and the processing of sugar and the other types of products), machinery and farm implement repair services and so forth in order to prevent private individuals from using these services to exploit producers.

By being carried out at the same time as the cooperativization movement, the types of activity mentioned above are truly helping agriculture, forestry and fishing to develop. At the same time, they are helping cooperative members, the members of collectives and working farmers, in general, to avoid being squeezed and exploited. And, they are also practical ways to help show farmers the benefits to be derived from the collective economy, strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers and build enthusiasm among farmers for socialism.

Adding their strength to the cooperativization movement in the countryside, state farms have made many efforts to grow and fulfill every aspect of their dominant role. Many state farms, which once operated at a loss, have now begun to learn how to reorganize and restructure their production, have established specialized farming guidelines, improved their economic management and established cooperation with the local agricultural product processing industry through economic ties and joint businesses, as a result of which their production and business operations are now efficient. The Pham Van Hai, An Ha and other state farms are paying for each of their costs with their own income, have begun to accumulate capital and have been participating in the building of the new countryside in many different ways.

Building the new countryside is no longer just a slogan. Together with establishing the Rural Affairs Subcommittee of the city party committee, the city has established clear guidelines and requirements, set up a clearly defined organizational structure and constantly supervised the various departments, sectors and mass organizations in actively participating in the development of the districts and villages into new rural areas characterized by large-scale, socialist production, the new culture and the new man. As part of the effort to achieve this goal, the city is continuing to conduct investigations and develop a master plan for each district and village to lay the groundwork for comprehensive development.

The construction of material-technical bases (power plants, machine works, water conservancy projects, processing plants and roads) and the construction of the infrastructure (such as drying yards, warehouses, wharves, ferry landings and so forth) are being carried out through investments by the state, through "the state and the people working together" or through the resources of collectives and cooperatives and the manpower of the people. The state-operated production and technical service units that we established at the very outset have made an impact upon agriculture.

Economic ties and joint businesses are being expanded between the precincts and subwards of the inner city and the districts and villages in the outskirts of the city, thereby opening many fine prospects for combining the forces in



the countryside, not only for the purpose of stimulating the development of production, but also developing education, cultural activities, public health services and physical culture and sport activities and building public welfare projects. Although the results achieved have generally been very limited, they have met some of the needs in the cultural and spiritual lives of the farmers in the outskirts of the city.

The realities of transforming and building the countryside over the past 10 years have also made clear the special importance of building the forces of the revolution, from the party to the government, the Fatherland Front and the mass organizations, to serve as forces that directly stimulate the production and cooperativization movements and the movements to maintain social order, maintain security, build the national defense system and build the new countryside.

Today, the city has virtually completed its agricultural cooperativization. The cooperativized sector accounts for 83.6 percent of farm households and the same percentage of farmland. We have established 129 agricultural cooperatives and 89 production collectives. Cu Chi District has 79 cooperatives and 78 production collectives, which account for 89.8 percent of the district's farmland and 86.6 percent of its farm households. Gratifying is the fact that the cooperatives and production collectives have learned how to operate and are fulfilling their obligations to the state well. Models of advanced cooperatives and collectives have become increasingly numerous. For example, the Quyet Thang 1 Cooperative in Binh My Village, Cu Chi District, has become a comprehensive model, that is, has become an agricultural-industrial-commercial-credit and exporting cooperative, has broken the cycle of monoculture and raising only one crop per year, introduced many trades, given attention to exports, earned income for the state and improved the living conditions of its members. Cu Chi and the other districts are expanding the use of this model.

Generally speaking, during the 10 years since liberation, the rural areas in the outskirts of the city have brought about a profound revolutionary change. Along with achieving the virtual completion of cooperativization, the proletarian dictatorship, with its system of collective ownership by laboring farmers within the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the party, has been strengthened through challenges and is effectively fulfilling its role of building and constantly developing the new life in the rural areas outside the city. (To be continued)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from speech at the 3rd Congress of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Organization.
2. Ibid.
3. The Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Organization, p 79.

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HAIPHONG: THIRTY YEARS OF STRUGGLING FOR INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM, FOR SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 35-40, 47

[Article by Le Danh Xuong, deputy secretary of the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee]

[Text] On 13 May 1955, the last French soldier withdrew from Haiphong, thus bringing to an end slightly less than 100 years of occupation of North Vietnam by the French colonialists and ushering in a new era for our nation, in general, and the people of Haiphong, in particular.

When liberated, Haiphong, a city that had been occupied for many years, a city that possessed a staunch revolutionary tradition, was overjoyed and its people looked forward with enthusiasm to a future of building a happy life in independence and freedom. However, during the past 30 years, due to the cruel schemes of enemies, the U.S. imperialists, who took the place of the French as rulers of the South and then unleashed the war of destruction against the North, and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, whose intention it is to sabotage our people's revolution, Haiphong has not enjoyed true peace for very long. Under the leadership and guidance of the Party Central Committee and government, Haiphong, along with the rest of the country, has gained a thorough understanding of the two strategic tasks, struggled for independence, for socialism and recorded very large and glorious achievements. The history of Haiphong over the past 30 years has been the history of a very tenacious and intense revolutionary struggle, a history very deserving of pride.

Immediately after liberation, between 1955 and 1960, Haiphong successfully resolved a host of large and complex problems left behind by the old system and successfully carried out the tasks of restoring and developing the economy, completing agrarian reform, transforming private, capitalist commerce and industry, carrying out the cooperativization of agriculture, small industry and the handicraft trades, abolishing the exploiting classes, establishing the new, socialist production relations and gradually stabilizing the living conditions of the people. At the same time, along with the other provinces of the North, Haiphong served as the solid rear area of the revolution in the South.

Between 1961 and 1975, under the light of the resolution of the 3rd National Congress of the Party, Haiphong successfully carried out the first 5-year plan. It began carrying out socialist industrialization and began building the material-technical bases of socialism, thus making worthy contributions to defending, strengthening and building the North, and fulfilled its obligation to the great frontlines in the South, thus helping to liberate the South and reunify the country.

Because it has the largest seaport in the North and is an industrial city with a long coastline, Haiphong was forced to wage a bitter fight against the two air and naval wars of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists. Between 1965 and 1973, the U.S. imperialists sent 6,664 aircraft flights in 982 different sorties to attack Haiphong. They dropped more than 17,000 bombs, fired more than 10,000 rockets and planted tens of thousands of land and sea mines, inflicting heavy losses of life and property upon Haiphong. Thousands of citizens of the city were killed or disabled. Hundreds of industrial and handicraft units, schools and hospitals were savagely bombed. Tens of thousands of square meters of housing were destroyed and practically every river bridge was destroyed. However, Haiphong, the "Red phoenix," was not obliterated as the U.S. pirates had hoped, but stubbornly stood its ground like "a steel fortress on the shore of the South China Sea." Haiphong fought 4,118 battles, shot down 317 aircraft of all types, including five B-52's, sunk or set afire 8 U.S. warships, disarmed 31,635 land and sea mines and captured many U.S. pilots. The city organized the evacuation of people and property well, maintained production, maintained uninterrupted communications and transportation, supported production and the needs of everyday life and met each need of the frontlines.

Under the slogan "everything for the frontlines, everything for the defeat of the U.S. pirate aggressors," Haiphong spared no effort to provide manpower and materiel to support the South. All together, some 90,000 families in Haiphong had relatives who fought on the various battlefields. Nearly 100 families had 5 to 7 members join the army. Some 15,436 families had from 2 to 3 sons join the army and 340 families lost their only son in combat. Some 490 families lost 2 to 3 sons in combat and 1 family lost 5.

Since 1976, under the resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party, Haiphong has continued to record many large achievements in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. When the Chinese reactionaries began openly opposing and attacking our country's revolution, Haiphong handled the "ethnic Chinese issue" correctly. It actively supported the frontlines in the two victories won over the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in the wars they unleashed along the southwestern and northern borders. Today, together with the rest of the country, Haiphong is fighting against the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation along the border, against their wide-ranging war of sabotage; is maintaining security and order and strengthening its armed forces; is perfecting its combat plans and defense lines; is improving its combat capabilities and is ready to win victory over the enemy in any war of aggression they might launch from any direction.

In socio-economic construction and development, Haiphong has made many efforts and recorded significant achievements.

During the past several years, Haiphong's once chronically weak agriculture has developed quickly, uniformly and with relative stability in terms of the amount of area under cultivation, crop yields and output. In 1981, the city crossed the "5 ton threshold." In 1983, it produced an average rice yield of 6.39 tons per hectare. In 1984, despite natural disasters, its yield still averaged nearly 6 tons per hectare. Since 1980, paddy output has risen at the average annual rate of 7.6 percent. Between 1979 and 1983, paddy output increased by 94,000 tons and the amount of grain mobilized for the state increased by 77,000 tons. Livestock production and the trade sector have also developed rapidly. As a result, the standard of living of farmers has been gradually stabilized and improved. A portion of the surplus labor and products within agriculture has been invested in the construction of sea dikes, the reclamation of land from the sea and the establishment of new economic zones. To date, Haiphong has created more than 10,000 hectares of new land along the seacoast and established six new cooperatives, thereby settling more than 2,200 families consisting of some 8,600 persons.

During the past 30 years, Haiphong's industry has developed rather strongly. The value of industrial output increased 49 times between 1955 and 1981. In particular, since 1979, despite acute difficulties with supplies, raw materials and energy, Haiphong has taken the initiative, moved forward and resolved its difficulties, thus bringing about new changes within its industry. In 1984, Haiphong met and exceeded the targets of its industrial plan, producing 9 percent more than in 1978, the previous year of record output, and meeting the target set by the 8th Congress of the Municipal Party Organization 1 year ahead of schedule.

As regards capital construction, under the old regime, construction, which supported the policy of domination and exploitation of the imperialists and feudalists, was sluggish, small in scale, crippled and dependent upon foreign countries. Following liberation day, Haiphong made continuous efforts to remodel, repair and build large and small economic-technical and cultural-social projects. However, during the years and months of the savage war, the U.S. imperialists destroyed or damaged many areas of the city and many of its projects. It has only been in recent years that the city has been able to carry out capital construction in a rapid and steady manner. Under the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level and the locality, the municipality and the wards, districts, subwards and villages working together," Haiphong has concentrated its capital and invested in the rapid construction of numerous projects. To date, Haiphong has established a number of industrial complexes and a number of new towns and residential zones, which form five gates leading into the city from its outskirts over large roads and bridges. The appearance of the city is constantly being changed and improved and the city itself is steadily being expanded and gradually stretching toward the sea.

Export and import activities are considered to be a task of strategic significance and are developing strongly. In 1984, the value of the city's exports was eight times higher than in 1976. Haiphong has built up the locality's seaport, organized a fleet of ships of the 10,000 ton class and begun to expand its tourist and service activities.

Many changes have occurred and much progress has been made in distribution and circulation. In 1984, the social market was partially reorganized. Small merchants and the outdoor markets are being reorganized. A network of marketing cooperatives has been established to join state-operated commerce in the effort to gain control over all aspects of the market. The retail sales of the organized market currently account for nearly 70 percent of total retail sales. Between 1981 and 1984, budget revenues grew at the average annual rate of 69 percent. Budget revenues in 1984 were six times higher than in 1981.

Education, public health services and physical education-sports have developed strongly in Haiphong, even during the war years. The school system extends to all villages, subwards, districts and wards. The city has a school enrollment of 285,400 students for the 1984-1985 school year (9.2 times larger than in 1955). In 1955, Haiphong had only 22 doctors and doctors' assistants. In 1984, it had 1,250. In 1961, there were only 106 scientific-technical cadres. In 1984, there were 20,580, 4,162 of whom have a college education, 60 of whom hold M.S. degrees and 9 of whom are professors. In the fields of culture, literature-art, information and the press, steady development has occurred under wholesome themes that are closely tied to and support socioeconomic goals, support the effort to mold the new, socialist man.

In Haiphong today, although the material standard of living is not high and many difficulties still exist, the essential needs of the people are being met. Everyone has relatively decent food, clothing and shelter. Children are being educated and the general cultural standard of the city is being steadily raised. Famines and epidemics do not occur. Political security and social order are being firmly maintained. The majority of persons of work age have been given a job. The elderly, the disabled and persons who have no means of support are receiving rather thorough care.

In the course of its struggle and growth, Haiphong received letters of commendation from President Ho on five different occasions and was given by him the title "the Brave, Loyal, Determined To Win Port City." The city was also awarded the Independence Order 1st Class by the Council of State. Collectives and individuals of the city have been awarded a total of 865 labor orders of all classes by the state. Haiphong's armed forces have received the "Heroic Unit" commendation and the Military Exploit Order 1st Class. Four collectives and 11 individuals have received the "Labor Hero" commendation. Thirteen collectives and 14 individuals have received the "Hero of the Armed Forces" commendation. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Haiphong, the Council of State decided to award the people of Haiphong the Gold Star Order, our country's highest order. This is a very large honor to the port city, is praise of the accomplishments recorded by and a source of strong inspiration to the party organization and people of Haiphong.

The achievements that Haiphong has recorded over the past 30 years have stemmed mainly from the clear-sighted, concrete leadership and guidance provided by the Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers. The resolutions of the 3rd, 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party as well as the directives and resolutions of the Party Central Committee, the

Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Council of Ministers have been torches lighting the way for the party organization and people of Haiphong, torches leading them steadily forward. The thoughts of General Secretary Le Duan as well as the other high ranking leaders of the party have provided a foundation and guidelines that have helped our municipal party committee think and act in a correct and creative manner.

These achievements have also been the results of the leadership activities of the executive committee of the municipal party organization, the various party committee echelons, the agencies of government and the mass organizations, the results of the revolutionary movements of the masses and the exemplary, vanguard role played by cadres and party members.

The Haiphong Municipal Party Committee and party organization have tried to gradually gain a thorough understanding of the party's revolutionary line, to fully comply with and creatively apply this line to the locality through correct and suitable policies and measures. We have been deeply studying the matters involved in our approach to and line on economic construction and have required that cadres and party members make every effort to study economics and economic management with a view toward strengthening the party's leadership in this field. In a short period of time, we issued a relatively complete system of municipal party committee resolutions, one that includes resolutions on leading and guiding each specific economic field, such as advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production; stepping up small industry and handicraft production; increasing the production of marine products; developing the household economy; accelerating capital construction; developing communications and transportation; strengthening socialist commerce and improving the management of the market; improving our work in the field of finance and monetary matters; expanding our tourist and service activities, etc. We consider these resolutions to be the specific program of action of the local party organization and people. The municipal party committee has required that all party organizations, all cadres and party members thoroughly familiarize themselves with and implement these resolutions, display a high revolutionary-offensive spirit and perform their work in a zealous, dedicated and scientific manner. Every thought and action must be directed toward the common objective of achieving rapid and steady progress in all activities of the city.

On the basis of understanding the party's line and keeping abreast of the day to day situation within the locality, the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee has always foreseen and taken positive measures to resolve problems raised by life. At the same time, thought has been given to long-range issues. Models and the prospects for the city in the future have been developed and defined. In its work of organizing and guiding implementation, the municipal party committee has encouraged the various party committee echelons, the agencies of government and the mass organizations to display a high spirit of daring to think and act, daring to assume responsibility to the masses and the upper level and try to focus the intelligence of the collective, to achieve a combined strength and take determined and effective steps to guide the successful implementation of established policies and meet established objectives. For example, to overcome our difficulties and establish sources of initial capital, we have adopted the policy that we must make agriculture

our base and invest billions of dong in agriculture with the aim of quickly producing many agricultural products and commodities, considering the development of local sources of capital to be the most basic requirement; on the other hand, we must increase our exports and imports, considering exports and imports to be extremely important activities in socialist construction.

In economic management, in 1979 and 1980, the locality's most difficult years, we decided to shift quickly and completely from administrative management and subsidization to economic accountability and socialist business principles. We have attached importance to correctly applying the "three interests." At the same time, we have assigned complete and comprehensive responsibilities to the districts and wards, strongly increased the role and responsibility of the basic units and encouraged them to display dynamism and creativity, to give thought to and develop efficient methods of operation. The municipal party committee and the party organization have waged a determined struggle against operating in a passive manner and relying upon others, against administrative management, bureaucracy and subsidization. Within the inner city, the municipal party committee has focused its efforts on guiding the development of the subwards and making the subward the base of urban management, the base for stimulating the development of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, for providing jobs, thereby helping to combat negative phenomena and make society wholesome.

The Haiphong party organization has overcome many challenges in recent years and achieved internal unity and consensus. All organizations of the party, all agencies of government, all mass organizations and every cadre and party member have been given a thorough understanding of the thinking of the municipal party committee. Through educational and ideological efforts combined with challenges in practical work, through self-criticism and criticism combined with organizational measures, the party organization has begun to build a corps of cadres, a contingent of core cadres who possess good qualities and skills and are gradually learning how to perform their jobs, how to be dynamic and creative. At the same time, it has established a corps of party members who are becoming increasingly mature in every respect and making an effort to grow and meet the new requirements they face.

The success that has been achieved in the leadership and guidance provided by the Haiphong party organization also stems from launching revolutionary movement of the masses. The municipal party committee has constantly reminded all levels and sectors to maintain close contact with the masses, gain an understanding of their thoughts and aspirations and correctly implement the slogan "the people are informed, the people discuss, the people act, the people inspect." During the past several decades, patriotic emulation movements have been continuously launched and have constantly grown. In 1960 and 1961, the spirited "Duyen Hai Wave" movement was launched in Haiphong and quickly spread to the industrial enterprises throughout the North. The movement to develop socialist labor sections and units patterned after the A shift of the small stone section of the Cement Plant has been having an impact for 25 years. During the resistance against the United States for national salvation Haiphong was filled with the intense spirit of emulation of the "three readies" movement among youths, the "three responsibilities" movement among women, the "a hammer in one hand, a rifle in the other" movement among

manual workers and the "a plow in one hand, a rifle in the other" movement among farmers. In recent years, the "product contracts in agriculture" movement, the "tile homes throughout the countryside" movement, the "march in the footsteps of heroes" movement and so forth have truly attracted strong participation by the masses and yielded practical economic returns.

The important reasons why we have been able to launch mass movements in Haiphong are that the party organization has adopted policies that correctly satisfy the requirements and aspirations of the people, has conducted good educational and ideological work and has given appropriate attention to the living conditions and economic interests of the worker. We maintain that within the context of socialist construction, the education of the masses and mass agitation cannot be carried out simply by means of general appeals and words of encouragement, rather, it is more important to conduct this work by taking positions and adopting policies that truly satisfy the vital interests of the masses. Once the masses clearly understand the significance of something and see the benefits they will derive from it, they will take action on their own and do so with enthusiasm. The product contract movement and the movement to "make every home in the countryside a tile home" in Haiphong offer very clear proof of this. In 1983, aware of the pressing requirements of agricultural production and the everyday lives of farmers, the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee decided to create the conditions needed to gradually build brick homes with tile roofs in the rural areas of the city. Because it satisfies the aspirations of the masses, this policy has been met with enthusiastic response. By 1984, 72 percent of the families in the rural areas of Haiphong had homes with tile roofs. Approximately 500,000 square meters of new housing were constructed during the 2 years 1983 and 1984, which far exceeded plans.

In recent years, the Haiphong Municipal Party Committee has been addressing the issue of building "socialism locally" with a view toward developing the spirit of self-reliance, gradually maintaining and improving the standard of living of the people and looking after the daily lives of the people, beginning with the smallest and most practical aspect of their lives. Along with the measures taken to step up production and control the sources of goods, the positive steps that have been taken to implement economic leverage policies, implement the product contract policy, initiate price compensation payments and repair and build public projects, roads and electricity and water projects have helped to reduce the difficulties being faced by the people. As a result, the confidence that the masses have in socialism, in the leadership and guidance provided by the party has become stronger with each passing day.

The achievements of Haiphong in the recent past have also been the result of the encouragement and assistance of the agencies and sectors on the central level, of the mutual assistance, economic ties and cooperation between Haiphong and various provinces. The brotherhood that was established between the port city of Haiphong and the port city of Da Nang during the years of the resistance against the United States has now been expanded into economic ties, joint businesses and cooperation in economic work. Our municipal party committee considers this to be an important way to expand product trade, increase the sources of capital for production and business and support the daily lives of the people.



Thus, the achievements that Haiphong has recorded in all fields have been the combined results of many different factors, factors which include the leadership and guidance provided by the Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers, the efforts made by the locality itself and the economic ties with and assistance of the sectors and agencies on the central level and various provinces.

As it proceeds along its course, Haiphong still faces many difficulties, weaknesses and shortcomings. The largest difficulty, the difficulty of single most importance today is the lack of adequate capital (including supplies, raw materials and energy) for carrying out socialist industrialization. Although changes and progress have occurred in a number of fields, they are only initial changes, initial progress. There are still very many problems that we must resolve to continue the strong and steady advance of the city's movement.

The party organization and people of Haiphong are upholding their tradition of loyalty, bravery and tenacity, are determined to overcome each difficulty, implement the resolution of the 8th Congress of the Municipal Party Organization in the very best manner possible and gradually develop Haiphong into a city that has a modern port, a city with a developed industry and agriculture, an export-import center, a center of tourism and services, an iron fortress resisting aggression.

With the political foundations and socio-economic bases that have been laid and established, with the initial but valuable experiences that have been gained in leadership, in organization and management, we are confident that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the final years of this decade and the years of the next decade will be the years of a period marked by the dynamism, creativity and rapid development of an ever-changing Haiphong.

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## TEN YEARS OF BUILDING AND DEVELOPING THE GENERAL EDUCATION SYSTEM OF REUNIFIED VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 41-47

[Article by Nguyen Thi Binh]

[Text] Beginning after the 1945 August Revolution, through the years of the resistance against France and during the years spent building and defending the socialist North as the base of the struggle to reunify the country, our country's education system gradually developed into a socialist system of education. Prior to the revolution, education in our country was nothing more than a tool of enslavement used by the colonialists and feudalists. Ninety-five percent of our people were illiterate. After the war against the French colonialists, in 1955, only 20 percent of the children in the North were attending school. By 1975, more than 90 percent were attending school. Each year, hundreds of thousands of students graduated from level II and level III general schools and constituted an important force augmenting our production and combat units. The cultural standards of each stratum of the working people, cadres, troops, youths and manual as well as mental laborers, were constantly raised. The system of general schools was developed everywhere. The corps of teachers and education management cadres reached unprecedented size and met the educational needs of the people and the needs of the revolution's large tasks. From within the "teach well, learn well" movement, more and more progressive schools and localities emerged. Education truly made important contributions to socialist construction in the North, to the victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors, to the completion of the national democratic revolution throughout the country.

Following the great victory won in the spring of 1975 and with the total liberation of the South, the reunification of the fatherland and the start of the advance of the entire country toward socialism, education in our country entered a new stage. During the first school year following the reunification of the country (1976-1977), more than 10 million students eagerly attended school. The education sector took over the management of and transformed the neo-colonialist schools in the South and established a unified socialist system of education throughout the country, thereby helping to stabilize the political and social situations in the newly liberated areas. Since then, through 10 years of building and developing the education system, we have recorded large and comprehensive achievements. In particular, since the

Political Bureau issued its resolution on educational reform, education has taken a new direction and become more closely tied to the work of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Marked progress has been made with regard to kindergarten education. In 1976, only 780,000 children were attending kindergartens. Today, some 1.6 million children, 33 percent of the children of kindergarten age, are enrolled (in the provinces of the South, the corresponding figures are: 240,000 and 590,000). At worksites, state farms and forestry sites, at agencies and enterprises, in the municipalities, cities and densely populated rural areas, kindergarten schools and classes have developed strongly because much more favorable conditions exist for their development at these places. Many good models of child care have also emerged.

General school education has developed in terms of both enrollment and the number of schools.

	<u>Basic Level General Schools</u>		<u>Middle Level General Schools</u>	
	<u>1976-1977</u>	<u>1983-1984</u>	<u>1976-1977</u>	<u>1983-1984</u>
The North	6,000,000 students	5,700,000	353,000 students	474,000
The South	4,200,000	5,350,000	178,000	241,000
Nationwide	10,200,000	11,050,000	531,000	715,000

Generally speaking, the network of schools and classes is deployed in a rational manner, in a manner convenient to the children of the working people. Practically all villages have a level I school, many villages have a level II school and practically all precincts, wards and districts have a middle level general school. Some precincts, wards and districts have as many as three to four middle level general schools. For the 1984-1985 school year, 12,016 basic general schools and 832 middle schools are in operation nationwide (7,033 and 522 in the North, 4,983 and 310 in the South).

With the aim of preparing the young generation to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the Ministry of Education has guided the general schools in "changing direction" and closely tying instruction and learning to life, to the socio-economic goals of the entire country and each locality. Carrying out educational reform under the guidelines of "proceeding gradually, steadily, selectively from the lower to the higher grades," the basic general schools have replaced the grade 1 to grade 4 textbooks in arithmetic, Vietnamese and history and begun to bring about good changes. Many schools are coordinating with the Youth Union, the Teenagers' Unit and the Students' Parents Association to teach revolutionary virtues to children after school hours. Among adult students, there have been changes in their understanding of the obligation to work and the obligation to defend the fatherland. When the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys unleashed the wars of aggression along the southwestern and northern borders, the schools at the places where fighting was occurring promptly evacuated their staffs and students, thereby providing safe conditions for teaching and learning. At the same time, they participated in combat and supported combat operations, thus contributing to the victories won by our nation.

The teaching of labor, the teaching of general technical subjects and occupational counselling have begun to yield some encouraging results. Many schools have established very close ties with the locality, with various sectors and basic production units in order to provide students with occupational counselling and make rational use of students when they graduate from school, thereby opening a new avenue in this work.

In the "two goods" emulation movement, besides the advanced models that emerged in previous years (the Bac Ly Basic General School, the Hoa Binh Socialist Youth School, the Cam Binh Village education movement and so forth), many new models with new features have come into existence, thereby creating an atmosphere of emulation within schools. Ngo Luong Village in Ha Son Binh Province, Cat Hanh Village in Nghia Binh Province, the Nghia Dong Level II School in Nghe Tinh Province, the Cao Ba Quat Middle School in Hanoi, the Tan Lam Middle School in Binh Tri Thien Province, the Tran Hung Dao Work-Study Middle School in Haiphong, the Thai Nguyen Industrial General School in Bac Thai Province and many other progressive schools have closely tied their training objectives to the socio-economic development plan of the locality and have taken determined, creative steps to achieve their educational goals.

The adult education sector has also recorded significant achievements. Following the liberation of the South, the popular education movement and the movement to wipe out illiteracy developed everywhere and became movements of a revolutionary, mass nature. As of December 1978, some 1.4 million persons were unable to read or write. Illiteracy has since been virtually wiped out. The "light of culture" campaign has played an important role in bringing culture to the ethnic minorities in the mountains. To date, 11 provinces and municipalities in the lowlands and midlands of the North have virtually completed the popularization of level I general school among adults. Many localities have opened or are opening specialized classes in science-technology and culture to support production and everyday life. The formal supplementary education network has developed on every level: the district level, the village level and within the village clusters. As a result of the efforts described above, the cultural standard of cadres and the people has been steadily raised, which has made an important contribution to the elimination of corrupt practices and backward customs and to the establishment of the new way of life.

Additional normal schools have been opened, especially in the South. The country now has 144 normal schools (8 colleges, 24 academies) and a system of education manager training schools that extends from the central to the local levels. The corps of teachers is steadily growing on all levels of education and has been further strengthened.

<u>Teachers</u>	<u>December 1975</u>	<u>1983-1984</u>		
		<u>The North</u>	<u>The South</u>	<u>Nationwide</u>
Kindergarten	32,000	40,600	18,985	59,585
Level I	92,800	120,392	98,357	218,749
Level II	66,700	85,317	46,524	131,841
Level III	15,700	24,212	11,165	35,377

Among the nearly one-half million teachers on the various levels of education are hundreds of persons who hold doctorate, M.A. or M.S. degrees and professors. At the end of the 1983-1984 school year, 42 percent of teachers had an academy level education and 84 percent of middle school teachers had a college education.

In summary, by developing upon the enormous achievements of the new education system established in our country after the August Revolution and by overcoming numerous difficulties, general education has steadily developed over the past 10 years. In the South in particular, education has developed in a rapid and comprehensive manner, from the standpoint of the various levels of education (especially level I, level II and middle school education), school enrollment, the number of schools and the development of the corps of teachers and education management cadres as well as from the standpoint of wiping out illiteracy, building and developing the system of kindergarten education, etc. We have succeeded in establishing a unified, nationwide system of socialist general school education.

However, compared to the large requirements of the revolution, the education sector still has many shortcomings. Difficulties are still being encountered in popularizing level I general school education and many children are unable to complete their level I education. Many adults among whom illiteracy was once wiped out, especially in areas in the high mountains and deep within the Mekong Delta, have forgotten everything they learned. The growth of middle school enrollments has not been balanced with the requirements of socio-economic development of the country, of each locality, with the availability of teachers or with the material bases supporting teaching and learning. The supplementary education movement has declined in recent year: prior to 1978, from 700,000 to 800,000 students attended on-the-job classes; during the 1983-1984 school year, enrollment in these classes stood at only 310,000. Nationwide, although the number of supplementary education schools and classes has increased, enrollment has not increased by much because the number of persons quitting school and the number of persons being left back to repeat the same grade for a second year have increased. As a result, the efficiency of training (calculated in terms of when a student graduates from a particular level of education) is still low. Below are figures on the 1983-1984 school year:

<u>Level</u>	<u>Students Quitting</u> <u>School</u>	<u>Students Repeating</u> <u>a Grade</u>	<u>Training</u> <u>Efficiency</u>
Level I	10 percent	8 percent	61.6 percent
Level II	16	7	66
Middle Schools	12	4.5	77

Schools have also failed to give much attention to cultivating socialist ideals among students; therefore, the understanding that students have of socialism is still vague, even incorrect. Some motives for obtaining an education are improper. The attitudes of obtaining an education in order to leave the countryside, in order to avoid manual labor are still quite prevalent among students and their parents. The health of students is a matter very deserving of concern. Examinations of a number of groups of

students between the ages of 8 and 15 showed that only 3 percent had no diseases at all (with the exception of worms) while the rest suffered from one to three diseases.

While the weaknesses and shortcomings described above have many objective and subjective causes, the education sector must fully realize what its own responsibilities are. Generally speaking, the sector has not concretized the party's line and views concerning education in the form of correct, specific policies and measures that are well suited to the socio-economic situation of the country, of each area. Teaching methods are still characterized by cramming knowledge into the heads of students, are still based solely on textbooks, are still divorced from practice. The school has yet to concern itself with providing a comprehensive education, with molding the character of the new, socialist man. The teaching of politics and ethics is being neglected. Efforts to provide students with an education in labor, a general technical education and occupational counselling are still marked by confusion.

The political standards and the level of socialist awareness of the corps of teachers--the decisive factor in education--are still low and their specialized skills are poorly developed, especially in the southern provinces. Even within the normal schools, student recruiting and occupational counselling are not being carried out well. Many normal schools have been slow to improve their subject matter and methods of teaching and have not kept pace with the requirements of general schools. As a result, a large number of the new teachers graduating from normal schools are weak both from the standpoint of their enthusiasm for and attitude toward teaching and their knowledge, skills and ability to teach in a way that meets the goals of education set by the party. Many teachers are so preoccupied with second jobs that they have taken to support themselves that their specialized skills and professional standards have not been improved much. Teachers are encountering many difficulties and hardships in their daily lives. The policies and measures that have been adopted regarding teachers and students (supplementary education) are, in some respects, unsatisfactory. Importance is not being attached to the position occupied by the teacher.

The funds spent on education are still low and 80 percent of the money spent is in the form of salaries, consequently, there is a very serious shortage of material-technical bases supporting teaching and learning. Many schools must hold three to four school sessions per day. Many classrooms have no tables or chairs for students and textbooks are also in very short supply.

The education sector has yet to adopt a master plan for balancing the development of education and the socio-economic tasks of the country and each locality. Each year, about 30 to 35 percent of the 800,000 school graduates enter life with no specific plan to follow. Scientific research has yet to provide good solutions to the pressing problems being faced. Subject matter and the methods of teaching and learning are being improved slowly and so forth. As a result, the quality of education is still low.

In the years ahead, under the leadership of the party and with the active assistance of all sectors and levels, very large efforts are required of the

education sector in order to improve the present state of education and reach new stages of development.

From the 10 years that we have spent building and developing the unified general education system, we can draw lessons and experiences that will be of use to us in the development of education in the years ahead.

Our party has pointed out that education is a part of the socialist revolution, in general, and an important part of the ideological and cultural revolution, in particular. Establishing the new culture and molding the new man are undertakings that are comprehensive in scope. Within these undertakings, the education system, which consists of kindergarten education, general school education, vocational middle school education, trade training, college education and post-graduate education, plays the role of foremost importance."(1) "General education is the cultural foundation of a country, is the future strength of a nation."(2) Therefore, in the socialist revolution, especially during the period of transition to socialism, the position of education must be correctly defined. This is not only a matter of social welfare, but also an extremely important matter of strategy--human strategy--in the task of training the new generations to build socialism and defend the fatherland. Therefore, while continuing to develop education, attention must be given to developing a well-rounded education, to molding socialist character, at the heart of which are political qualities and revolutionary virtues, among youths and teenagers and directing their efforts toward learning science and technology, cultivating occupational skills and meeting the requirements of the socio-economic development of the country and each locality.

The issue of fundamental importance today is to "train persons who possess socialist patriotism and ideals, possess good qualities, possess the knowledge and skill needed to perform a job well, a job consistent with the division of labor within the locality and throughout the country, a job that is consistent with the country's level of economic and social development at each point in time."(3) The education sector's slogan "a new direction for the school: toward the needs of life" is the direction that the school must take to meet the training goals of the party.

In light of these educational goals, our guidelines are to develop education in a positive and steady manner, in a manner consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the national economy, by which we mean that the development of education must be based on the requirements of socio-economic development, on the requirements involved in defending the country and must be closely tied to the plans for the utilization of students who have completed their training. Our country's economy still faces many difficulties and is imbalanced. Education, therefore, cannot be divorced from economic conditions, rather, it must be viewed from the perspective of its relationship with the economy. The quality of education is of decisive significance in the development of education. Quantitative requirements are no reason to ignore the conditions needed to maintain the quality of training.

In the effort to meet the goals of training the country's future generations, teachers have a very important position and role. They are the militants of

the party on the ideological and cultural front. Consequently, attention must be given to molding, developing and supporting them in every respect: molding their thinking, virtues and qualities, developing their specialized skills and physical conditioning, supporting their material and spiritual lives... Of the various problems we face regarding the corps of teachers and education management cadres, one of the problems most deserving of concern today is that the number of party members within the education sector is still very small: in the North, 20.3 percent of middle school teachers and 13.4 percent of basic general school teachers are party members; in the South, 5.7 percent of middle school teachers and 1.7 percent of basic general school teachers are party members. Nationwide, only 15 percent of schools have a party organization. Very many schools have no party members. Therefore, in the years ahead, we must do everything that we can to improve the political quality of the corps of teachers and intensify the building of the party within schools. The standard of living of teachers is a problem with which we must concern ourselves and take urgent steps to resolve. While fully implementing the various measures and policies that have been adopted by the state regarding teachers, it is necessary for the various party committee echelons and levels of government, for the people of all localities to show greater concern for improving the material and spiritual lives of teachers and creating favorable conditions for them to perform their noble task well. Enhancing the position and role of the teacher within society is very important. Facts have shown that at those places that support and assist teachers well, education develops, the children of the people receive thorough instruction and care and the quality of education markedly improves.

In view of the fact that our country's economy is still encountering many difficulties and the fact that investments by the state in education are still limited, it is extremely necessary that the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the central level and the locality working together" be applied in the building and development of the education sector. The implementation of these guidelines has created favorable conditions for meeting the goals of education in accordance with the principles of learning combined with practice, education combined with productive labor, the school linked to society. These guidelines have also served to provide practical guidance with regard to combining the three different environments, the school, the family and society, for the purposes of teaching ethics, managing students, looking after the living conditions of cadres and teachers, building material-technical bases for education and making rational use of students when they graduate. Without properly combining the three different environments within which education is provided, it is impossible for education to develop in accordance with training goals, impossible for education to be closely tied to socio-economic plans and meet the requirements of the revolution's tasks. In essence, this approach taps the combined strength and the spirit of ownership of the working people in education. But, the coordination and ties between education and the sectors, mass organizations, basic units and localities are still not close or constant and still depend upon the "good will" of a number of leaders at one place or another, in one sector or another. Education is the undertaking of the entire party and all the people. It must be supported by all of society under the leadership of the party, with the principal responsibility being borne by the



education sector. Therefore, there is a need for a suitable management system through which to implement this "human strategy" well.

The party's leadership of efforts to build and develop education is of decisive significance. The party's views on education, especially its goal of training the new worker, must be thoroughly understood by all party committee echelons. Training the generation of new workers is investing in the reproduction of labor and lays the groundwork for building the new life. Universal education, universal trade training and training the young generation to be new, fully developed workers are laws of the socialist revolution. Uncle Ho taught: "Training the revolutionary generations of the future is very important and very necessary work."<sup>(4)</sup> Therefore, in order for this important task to be performed well, the various party committee echelons must truly attach importance to building the corps of teachers and strengthening and stabilizing the corps of education management cadres, especially basic general school and middle school principals. The development of the party among teachers must be intensified along with efforts to build a solid and strong Youth Union and Teenagers' Unit. The leadership and guidance of education and all investments in education must be fully based on the political, economic, social and geographical features of each locality, of each nationality to insure the democratic, equal and unified character of the socialist system of education.

By firmly adhering to the party's view on education, by closely tying education to the socio-economic goals of our country and by properly applying the experiences that have been gained in education, we will surely record many new achievements in the years ahead in our efforts to develop the socialist system of education.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 55.
2. The Political Bureau Resolution on educational reform, 1 January 1979, p 13.
3. Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong to teachers and education cadres on the occasion of Vietnam Educators Day (20 November 1984), NHAN DAN Newspaper, 26 November 1984.
4. The Testament of President Ho Chi Minh.

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## OUR COUNTRY'S PUBLIC HEALTH SECTOR: FORTY YEARS OF SERVICE AND GROWTH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 48-53, 69

[Article by Dang Hoi Xuan]

[Text] Vietnam's socialist public health system of today is a great source of pride to us.

Prior to the 1945 August Revolution, the life of our people was a life of poverty and disease. Cholera, smallpox, typhoid fever and polio among children were widespread. Malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, trachoma, dermatological and venereal disease and so forth were also very common. In the countryside and the mountains, stillbirths were a very serious problem. The entire country had but 47 public hospitals and 9 maternity clinics, the majority of which were located in the cities. There were only 51 doctors and 152 physicians, an average of only 1 person trained in medicine for every 180,000 persons. As a result, the death rate was the highest in the world: 26 percent. The average lifespan was 38 years.

Following the August Revolution, we quickly established a corps of cadres and facilities to provide medical treatment and emergency care and produce medicine and medical instruments. We also established a number of medical and pharmaceutical research facilities. Throughout the 9 years of the resistance against France, the public health sector made positive contributions to strengthening the rear area, to supporting the frontlines and worked hard to prevent the outbreak of a major epidemic within the revolutionary base areas. On the day that victory was won in the resistance against France, the North had only 4,000 hospital beds, 100 doctors, 200 physicians and slightly more than 1,000 nurses. Within the newly liberated areas, there was virtually no basic public health network. However, by launching the disease prevention sanitation movement, building two compartment privies, digging wells, building bathhouses, expanding the inoculation of persons against smallpox, the administration of vaccines, the use of preventive medicines and so forth we wiped out cholera and smallpox. In the North, progress was being made toward wiping out malaria. The tuberculosis morbidity rate fell from 25 percent in 1958 to 9.8 percent in 1964. Of more than 10 million persons examined and treated for trachoma, nearly 200,000 received corrective surgery. By 1964, a widespread public health network had been established: compared to 1954, there were 15 times more doctors and 9 times as many pharmacists. There were

2,500 physicians in the villages and more than 3,000 physicians and tens of thousands of public health personnel at disease prevention and medical treatment facilities and drug production and distribution units. There were seven research institutes (which included the Institute of Research in Eastern Medicine, a college of medicine, a college of pharmacy, two college departments of medicine and physician training schools in the provinces). All districts had a hospital and medical aid stations. The Society of Eastern Medicine and the Red Cross were conducting widespread activities.

During the years from 1965 to 1975, displaying a high degree of revolutionary heroism, the public health sector capably supported the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. In the North, the sector strengthened the village and district public health organizations, taught surgery to cadres and widely developed the civilian ambulance network in order to provide on-the-spot emergency care. In the South, our public health cadres bravely stood their ground and supported combat operations on the battlefield while conducting mass agitation within the areas under enemy control. During those years of fierce, heroic fighting, the public health sector still constantly increased its efforts in the areas of disease prevention sanitation, the prevention and control of epidemics, medical examinations and treatment, the production and distribution of medicine and the development of folk medicine while intensifying the training of cadres and making every effort to conduct scientific research. The number of cadres more than tripled in the space of 10 years and the public health network was expanded and quickly strengthened.

With our victory in the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our country became completely independent, free and reunified and began the advance directly toward socialism. However, within the newly liberated areas, the environment was seriously polluted. The slave regime, the decadent way of life, the superstitions, the backward customs and habits that were encouraged during the American-puppet period and so forth were sources of dangerous diseases and social ills that damaged human health. Cholera, plague, polio and typhoid fever continued to occur at many places. The malaria morbidity rate was 10 times higher than in the North and the tuberculosis morbidity rate was more than twice as high. More than 1 million persons had venereal disease, some 200,000 of whom had contracted syphilis. There were more than 150,000 drug addicts in Saigon alone. The wars of aggression unleashed by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists along the southwestern border and the northern border, repeated natural disasters...exacerbated the difficulties of the country and the public health sector. Under the leadership of the party, especially under the light of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses and the plenums of the Party Central Committee, the public health sector has gradually overcome these difficulties and recorded large and comprehensive achievements in serving the health care needs of the people as well as in developing itself into a large and strong sector.

Today, we have established a unified, nationwide public health network that extends from the central to the basic levels, from the lowlands to the mountains, a network that clearly reflects our party's line on socialist public health and its views on serving the health care needs of the people, a

network that has service as its objective and active prevention as its guideline, a network that combines modern medical science with folk medicine, combines the responsibility of state public health organizations with conscious participation by the people. Within this public health network, importance is attached to the district, ward, precinct and basic unit public health facilities because they provide general public health care and meet the everyday requirements of the people in peace time as well as time of war. Once a country that had no public health organization in its villages, Vietnam now has 8,660 village and subward public health stations and 1,121 public health stations at worksites, state farms, forestry sites, enterprises and so forth, which serve the functions of maintaining disease prevention and control sanitation and hygiene while providing medical examinations and treatment based on both modern medical science and folk medicine, assisting in child birth, implementing planned parenthood, supplying medicine, managing pregnancies and gradually providing health management. All districts have a hospital, a disease prevention sanitation and malaria control unit and a central pharmacy together with branch pharmacies and medicine counters in the villages. Linking the districts to the villages are nearly 600 area general examination offices. Folk medicine diagnosis and treatment offices are continuing to be constructed within the districts, precincts and wards in order to expand the examination and treatment of patients by means of medicinal herbs and acupuncture.

In the provinces and municipalities of the South, a public health organizational structure similar to that in the provinces and municipalities of the North has been established, one that consists of hospitals that practice general medicine, folk medicine and a number of specialized fields of medicine, disease prevention sanitation and hygiene stations, malaria, tuberculosis and trachoma control stations, pharmaceutical combines and schools that provide elementary and supplementary training for basic level and middle level public health cadres.

On the central level, there are 28 institutes and departments, 7 of which are devoted to the study of epidemiological sanitation and hygiene, vaccines and labor-related medical science; 3 of which are devoted to the study of malaria; 1 of which is devoted to the study of goiter; 1 of which is devoted to the study of nutrition; 2 of which are devoted to the study of folk medicine; and 1 of which is devoted to the study of acupuncture. In addition, there are also institutes that are devoted to the study of pharmaceuticals, the study of health care for children and adults, an information and medical library institute. There are six colleges of medicine and pharmacy and one school and college department specializing in the training of public health management cadres. Large hospitals and leprosariums, pharmaceutical enterprises, drug and supply corporations and federations of drug enterprises have been built and developed. The system of highly specialized public health organizations has carried out many scientific research projects that meet international standards and resolved pressing, fundamental problems concerning the health and illnesses of the people in a manner consistent with the circumstances and conditions of our country.

Specialized-technical activities have yielded large results. In the field of epidemiological hygiene, the combination of technical measures and the mass

movement of previous years resulted in the elimination of major epidemics in the North and, since 1975, in the control and prompt elimination of diseases in the South or diseases spreading from the South to the North, thereby reducing the morbidity rates for bacterial diseases, malaria, tuberculosis, trachoma and so forth. Medical examination and treatment facilities have developed rapidly. Over the past 30 years, the number of hospital beds has increased 50-fold (1954: 4,000; 1976: 159,088; 1983: 205,780). Special attention has been given to protecting and caring for the health of mothers and children. Since the liberation of the South, the number of beds reserved for women in childbirth and children has increased by 50 percent. Importance has been attached to maternity care and family planning, beginning on the village and subward levels. The rate of population growth declined from 3.2 percent in 1976 to 2.29 percent in 1983. Health care for the elderly and the ethnic minorities in the mountains has been improved. Management of the health of each citizen beginning on the basic level, which was initiated in the North in 1973, is being expanded to the entire country and has become established practice in more than 1,000 villages, 20 districts, precincts and wards and many industrial units.

We have also made major efforts to raise and cultivate pharmaceutical products, to produce, export, import and distribute medicines in an attempt to meet the rising needs of the people. Since 1976, domestic drug production has increased three-fold, medicine funds distributed per capita have also more than tripled. The production of medicinal herbs has developed strongly and roughly 3,000 villages have met the standards on the cultivation and use of medicinal herbs.

The results of the efforts made in the specialized and technical fields can be seen in the following general indexes:

<u>Death Rate</u>	<u>Prior to August 1945</u>	<u>1983</u>
Overall death rate	26 percent	7.4 percent
Death rate among children less than 1 year of age	300-400 percent	20.1 percent
Death rate among mothers	20 percent	1.1 percent
Average lifespan	38 years	63 years
		(men: 62; women: 66)

One large and outstanding achievement of the Vietnam public health sector is that it has, in conjunction with supporting production and everyday life, capably and promptly supported combat missions throughout the 30 years of the war against the imperialists as well as in the current war against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. In war, especially in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, we have quickly provided cadres with elementary and supplementary training, trained cadres to do the work of surgeons and supplied technical public health equipment to the districts and villages; organized mobile surgery units and forward emergency treatment stations; and developed the Red Cross network everywhere. With this dense public health network, we were able to provide good, on-the-spot emergency care despite heavy enemy attacks day and night, thereby limiting our casualties to the lowest possible level and helping our soldiers and fellow

countrymen remain firm in their determination to fight and produce. In addition, our country's public health sector has always fulfilled its international obligation to the fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, in both the war of resistance against aggression and in the building of these countries.

Over the past several decades, by means of many different forms and methods of training, we have trained a corps of public health cadres who are loyal to the fatherland, to socialism, are imbued with the teaching of President Ho that "a physician be as good and kind as a mother" and are the masters of technology. Since 1975 we have been providing domestic post-graduate cadre training for level I and level II specialized medicine and M.S. degrees and have intensified the elementary and supplementary training of cadres in folk medicine, epidemiological hygiene, malaria, etc. At present, about 2,000 doctors and pharmacists are being trained each year. As of 1984, we had 17,000 doctors, 300 times more than in 1945. The corps of public health cadres is very closely aligned with the revolutionary cause of the party, displays a high spirit of unity, dedication and sacrifice and wholeheartedly serves patients, serves the people, serves the fatherland. In addition, public health cadres always combine their specialized work with promoting mass movements. The "clean villages, good rice fields" movement, the "clean mountain villages, good upland terraces" movement, the "all the people build public health stations" movement and, in particular, the current "five thorough public health jobs" movement have been and are stimulating the successful implementation of the party's public health line.

The achievements we have recorded are large and deserving of pride but, in the face of the requirements of the tasks of the revolution and the growing need to care for and protect the health of the people, the public health sector still has many shortcomings and weaknesses. We have yet to fully realize the sharp nature of the struggle between the "two paths." Appropriate importance has not been attached to propagandizing and teaching the line and views of the party concerning public health. At times, these efforts have been neglected, as a result of which the attitude toward work and the spirit in which service is provided have declined and many negative phenomena have arisen in medical examinations and treatment, in the production and distribution of medicine. The epidemiological hygiene movement has developed slowly. The environment has not been improved and is steadily deteriorating at some places. Prolonged epidemics still occur within a number of localities. The public health network, especially on the village level, is encountering many difficulties due to our failure to train cadres well, our failure to provide village public health cadres with satisfactory living conditions and our failure to create conditions that allow them to go about their work with peace of mind. The rate of population growth is still high, etc. All of these situations have had an adverse impact upon the quality of public health work and limited our achievements in the field of protecting the health of the people.

During the final years of this decade, the model for our country's public health sector is the public health model of a developing country. That is, we must quickly complete the stage of preventing and controlling diseases spread by insects, parasites and viruses and malnutrition, reduce the rate of population growth and begin preventing the diseases of the developed

countries. The public health sector is still encountering many difficulties and its tasks are very large. Therefore, to contribute to the successful performance of the party's two strategic tasks, the public health sector must perform the following five tasks well:

1. Carrying out the constant development of public health services to support the production and daily lives of the people;
2. Maintaining its readiness to support the fight to defend the fatherland;
3. Building and taking a step toward developing the material-technical bases of the sector, beginning by building and developing the pharmaceutical and public health equipment sectors in order to meet the majority of the country's needs for drugs and commonly used public health equipment;
4. Incorporating and developing traditional medicine and combining it with modern medicine in order to develop Vietnamese folk medicine;
5. Wholeheartedly assisting the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia and expanding its cooperation with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the various international organizations.

To perform the task of bringing about the constant development of public health services, general public health services must be increased. The specific requirement in general public health services is to take steps to meet the five targets that have been set, beginning by expanding the scale and improving the quality of the "five thorough jobs" movement(+). Gradually improving and developing our specialized public health services is important but the principal guideline in specialized public health work is to support general public health services, to resolve the pressing problems being faced in general public health services. We must have a thorough understanding of the views of the party concerning the public health sector supporting production, everyday life and combat; closely combining modern medical science with traditional folk medicine; struggling against every view that is contrary to socialist public health policy; intensifying the struggle between the "two paths"; resolving the problem of public health personnel starting private practices; and eradicating the free market in medicine.

In the years ahead, efforts to implement the lines and views of the party and perform the tasks of the public health sector must be oriented toward the following five targets:

--Effectively preventing and controlling epidemics and communicable diseases; controlling cholera, dysentery, plague, malaria and hemorrhagic fever; reducing the morbidity rates associated with communicable diseases among children; and establishing good food product hygiene, public food and beverage hygiene and good hygiene on the job and at schools;

--Taking positive steps to prevent and control social diseases; expanding general examination offices and gradually improving the examination and treatment network, the most important aspect of which is health management;

and giving attention to manual workers, children, women and the ethnic minorities;

--Reducing the rate of population growth; protecting the health of mothers and children well; and considering planned parenthood to be the area of primary importance;

--Effectively resolving the medicine problem; developing the use of medicinal herbs and acupuncture; tightly managing the distribution and use of drugs; not allowing shortages of drugs needed to combat epidemics, drugs used in emergency treatment and commonly used drugs, especially children's drugs, to occur; and developing methods of treatment that do not require the use of drugs;

-- Building a complete, standard and modern public health organization, beginning by strengthening the public health facilities of the basic units, districts, wards and precincts so that they play the decisive role in meeting the basic requirements of general public health care.

The tasks and targets of the public health sector require more than just the efforts of the public health sector itself. They also require contributions by all of society, contributions made under the leadership of the party. The various party committee echelons and levels of local government play a very important role in providing leadership and guidance in the following primary areas of work:

Most importantly, the party committees must take charge of efforts to protect and clean up the environment, to gradually improve the quality and effectiveness of disease prevention and control efforts and must assign specific tasks to related sectors. These efforts must be the subject of widespread propaganda. It is necessary to provide the people with basic knowledge concerning disease and epidemic prevention hygiene and environmental protection and encourage them to participate in the disease prevention hygiene movement, in the movements to resolve the problems posed by sewage, waste water and garbage. These movements must be closely tied to the campaigns to establish the new way of life, eradicate corrupt customs and superstitions...

Medical examinations and treatment are important work and are areas in which we are currently encountering many difficulties. Therefore, we must strengthen and expand our medical examination and treatment facilities from the central level to the localities, including folk medicine facilities, the public health stations of villages, worksites, state farms, enterprises and so forth, and insure that these facilities are fully funded, that they have the supplies and other conditions they need but which the public health sector is unable to provide. Appropriate policies and measures must be adopted to develop the role played by folk medicine. A variety of methods must be employed to further educate and motivate the corps of public health cadres so that they are always cognizant of the glorious duty of the socialist doctor.

To help correct the serious socio-economic imbalance within our country today, it is absolutely necessary that we reduce the rate of population growth by promoting the planned parenthood campaign. This work, too, not only requires



more effective propaganda and educational efforts concerning the issues of population and planned parenthood, not only requires that cadres, party members and Youth Union members set good examples, but also that we adopt measures and policies that are well suited to each place with the aim of achieving the specific target of each locality.

In the years ahead, more attention must also be given to the production, distribution and use of drugs. Current drug sources on the central level are inadequate. Every locality must develop every available potential and establish sources of drugs for medical treatment by planting and raising pharmaceutical product crops on the provincial, district and village levels while promoting the movement to raise and use local medicinal herbs. Such steps would not only resolve the shortage of drugs, but also create sources of drugs for exportation, thus enabling us to import antibiotics, chemicals and public health instruments that we are unable to produce. At the same time, we must try to increase the production of pharmaceutical chemicals and medical instruments and turn our efforts to the production of antibiotics. The management, storage, distribution and use of drugs must be improved. The artificial shortage of drugs must be overcome.

One urgent problem we face today is the need to strengthen and expand the public health network, especially on the district, ward, precinct, village and subward levels. The main approach to be taken in this work is to select, train, assign and utilize the corps of public health cadres in a suitable manner. We must fully implement the regulations and policies that have been promulgated by the state regarding public health cadres, especially village public health cadres, cadres working in mountain, border and island districts, in new economic zones, mobile cadres and cadres working in the field of epidemiological hygiene, with special attention to the training of local cadres. The guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level and the locality working together" must be applied in building and repairing public health facilities, in looking after and improving the living conditions of public health cadres.

Under the leadership of the party, by developing upon the large achievements recorded over the past 40 years and through the strength of collective ownership exercised by the working people, we are confident that the public health sector will grow, overcome its difficulties and weaknesses and more effectively support production, everyday life and combat, thereby contributing to the successful construction of socialism and the firm defense of the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

- + The "five thorough jobs" are: the construction of sanitation projects, health management, planned parenthood, the cultivation and use of medicinal herbs and the strengthening of the public health organization on the precinct, ward, district and basic levels.

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## TEN YEARS OF BUILDING THE NEW CULTURE IN THE PROVINCES OF THE SOUTH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 54-57, 85

[Article by Nguyen Van Hieu]

[Text] In the 10 years since liberation, the cultural face of the southern provinces has undergone enormous changes, changes that have paralleled the economic and social achievements that have been recorded. For many years, our enemies did everything they could to corrupt and debase persons" to encourage selfish, cowardly and vulgar feelings and an equally selfish, cowardly and vulgar way of life. And they succeeded in causing a certain amount of harm, especially among youths. The American way of life, the pleasure-seeking way of life, attracted a portion of the public, especially in the cities, through the goods, films, pictures, books, magazines and so forth that the imperialists poured into the South. Influences of that ugly way of life persist today and would continue to cause harm for many years to come were it not for the determined struggle we have been waging to eradicate them and establish the wholesome socialist way of life.

The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party observed: "With the gradual formation of the new system and the new economy, certain achievements have been recorded in the effort to establish the new culture and mold the new man...but because our society has only recently entered the period of transition, there are, besides the new, socialist men and women who are emerging, besides the new, progressive traits we see blossoming in men and women, more than a few things that are negative and unwholesome. The struggle between the two paths, between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, the progressive and the reactionary, within the field of culture, ideology and lifestyle is a very complex, daily struggle, is a struggle that we cannot give light attention."(1)

We have been and are simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution.

On the ideological and cultural front, the socialist state seized control of the mass media--the press, radio and television stations, publishing houses, libraries, theaters, movie houses, art schools, the majority of printing

houses and so forth--immediately after liberation day. At the same time, it began promoting the transformation of those sectors in which private individuals exerted a certain degree of influence. Today, practically all cultural and art activities are controlled by the state or by collective organizations.

It can be said that the neo-colonialist culture in the South has been virtually eliminated and that the socialist culture is developing more strongly with each passing day.

It is the position of our party that the majority of basic units be conducting cultural activities and that all working people be able to read newspapers, listen to radio programs, attend films and attend programs in the performing arts by the end of 1985, with special attention to rural areas and ethnic areas. The culture and information sector in the southern provinces has been steadily working to implement this policy for many years and won significant victories:

Today, practically all of the villages in the South have a basic level information unit and a mass art unit. The mass literature and art movement has become a vigorous movement. Each year, theatrical festivals are held in the districts, provinces and municipalities. Tens of thousands of persons participate in these festivals and the atmosphere created is a happy and wholesome one.

In the effort to organize cultural life at basic units, attention has been given to the characteristics of each demographic area, each segment of the public in order to "make culture a pervasive force in the daily lives of the people." Increasing attention has been paid to ethnic minority and worker areas. The provinces of the Central Highlands have made important strides. Today, the three provinces of Gia Lai-Kontum, Dac Lac and Lam Dong have 350 mass literature and art units and 142 village propaganda and agitation units. All of their districts have one or two movie units. The absence of movies at certain places has been virtually eliminated. The rubber worker areas, which stretch from eastern Nam Bo to the provinces of the Central Highlands and were once notorious for their miserable living conditions, now have a new face. The improvement in their material lives has been accompanied by improvements in their spiritual lives as well. Practically all state farms have wired radio networks and mass literature and art units and some places have movie units and televisions.

There is also a rich cultural life on the subward level within the municipalities, especially the subwards of Ho Chi Minh City, Da Nang...

The cultural and literary-art activities described above are in part the result of our building a network of cultural projects extending from the provincial and municipal to the district and village levels, such as cultural centers, libraries, museums, tradition halls and so forth. Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," all localities of the South have recorded achievements in this area and many cultural centers that stand as symbols of socialist culture have been established.

The precinct and district cultural centers have become places that teach the methods by which mass cultural activities are conducted to the participants in the movement at basic units and also places at which large numbers of local people engage in cultural activities. In Ho Chi Minh City, the precinct and district cultural centers attract thousands of persons daily, especially youths. As a result, they are fulfilling the cultural center's role of teaching morals, teaching aesthetics very effectively.

One innovation introduced by the southern provinces has been the establishment of socio-economic complexes. At these complexes, besides economic units, there are also several cultural projects. The socio-economic complex is the bridge between the countryside and the city and is being developed in a number of provinces, especially in Nghia Binh.

Viewed from the perspective of our rate of development, it can be said that the enjoyment of culture and art and the building of material-technical bases in the provinces of the South 10 years after liberation have reached levels commensurate with those that have been reached in the northern provinces. For example:

In the Red River Delta (including Hanoi) and the midlands and mountains of the North, which have a population of roughly 22 million and encompass 210 districts, wards, cities and towns, the average district has 2.62 movie units, 0.7 mobile information units, 0.27 cultural centers and 0.4 information centers. The average person attends 4.93 movies and 0.55 professional art performances each year. Each person has an average of 0.27 books (excluding textbooks) and 0.42 pictures and other cultural products.

In the Mekong Delta and eastern Nam Bo (including Ho Chi Minh City), which have a population of roughly 20 million and encompass 140 districts, precincts, cities and towns, the average district also has 2.73 movie units, 1.1 mobile information units, 0.35 cultural centers and 0.33 information centers. The average person attends 5.22 movies and 1.12 professional art performances each year. Each person has an average of 0.49 books and 0.46 pictures and other cultural products.

Of course, from the standpoint of their content and guidelines, the cultural and art activities of the North and the South are virtually the same as a result of the uniformity of guidance provided by the agencies of the party and state. Their content is socialist, even though the degree to which this content is expressed and the quality of the activities conducted vary from one place to another.

The struggle between the new and the old, between the progressive and the backward, the reactionary has been and continues to be a very bitter struggle within the field of culture and art.

Along with the rest of the country, the provinces of the South have made major efforts to eliminate social ills, corrupt practices, superstitions and the "cultural" vestiges of colonialism, both old and new. However, because our management has at times been lax and because the enemy has taken advantage of our weaknesses and counter-attacked us by every means possible on the cultural

and ideological front, corrupt customs and superstitions have been re-emerging at certain times and places. The parasitic, extravagant and wasteful style of life, especially among a number of urban dwellers who have turned into bourgeoisie (including deviant cadres) has still not been eradicated.

Within the field of art, socialist transformation has not been carried out uniformly. Some artistic activities have exhibited a leaning toward commercialization and the gratification of ordinary tastes. At times, activities in the field of music have virtually lost all sense of direction and been encouraged and controlled by the worship of things foreign, by things half-foreign, half-native.

We have taken prompt steps to correct these aberrations. During the recent major holidays, professional musical and theatrical performances were spirited and filled with vitality, thus insuring that they fulfilled their task of teaching tradition and stirring enthusiasm for the various movements in production and combat.

In the provinces of the South, through 10 years of transformation and construction and with the resolutions of the 4th and 5th National Congresses of Delegates of the Party lighting their way, the various levels of the party and state government have undergone important changes in their understanding of cultural work, of the ideological and cultural revolution.

It must be said that many years have gone by without the party's resolution on simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions becoming a truly integral part of the thinking and the method of operation of many party committees and people's committees. In actuality, many localities see only the need to build the economy, to support everyday life and give very little attention to cultural work. When, on occasion, the issue of cultural development has been raised, it has only been raised from the standpoint of "culture supporting the enemy" or raised within the framework of "raising the cultural standard of living."

However, as argued by our party, the issue is not confined to such narrow concepts. Our party has always viewed the tasks of building the new system, building the new economy and establishing the new culture as having a reciprocal impact upon one another. Because, culture is both the product of the economy and a force stimulating the economy's development.

The central task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to mold the new, socialist man. The molding of this new person is the combined result of all three revolutions; at the same time, this new person is the author of these three revolutions.

Therefore, cultural work cannot be divorced from the ideological and cultural revolution. This revolution must be closely tied to the revolution in production relations and the scientific-technological revolution. Under certain conditions, cultural development can precede, and thus have a reciprocal impact upon, the process of economic development.

The realities of the past 10 years have shown that the provinces of the South have made major progress in the field of culture and art. As a result of enjoying very basic advantages, such as the reunification of the country under the leadership of the party, as a result of the experiences of the North and as a result of the dynamism of the newly liberated areas, the rate of cultural development in the South has been quite high. However, this is no reason to "skip stages" and not take the fundamental steps that must be taken, such as building the infrastructure, which is an extremely important prerequisite to economic and social development, and training a corps of cadres who possess fine qualities and professional skills.

In many provinces of the South, especially in the Mekong Delta, the first element of the infrastructure that must be built is the road network, which is very underdeveloped. At present, because of the lack of roads and the shortage of means of transportation, it is very difficult for the development of culture and education to be carried out in areas deep within the countryside that are flooded for most of the year. Realizing this, government agencies in the provinces of Long An, Hau Giang, Minh Hai and Kien Giang have constructed numerous inter-village and inter-district roads over the past several years. As a result, the light of culture has spread very rapidly into the countryside.

The infrastructure also includes power plants, without which it would be difficult to conduct cultural and information activities. From this perspective, many localities have been and are developing well. For example, small hydroelectric power plants have been constructed along the seacoast in central Vietnam, in the Central Highlands and in eastern Nam Bo. It is hoped that, in the years ahead, electricity generated by means of methane gas, solar energy and wind power will help to provide many more lighted places for cultural life in the countryside. It must also be stated that many localities have boldly introduced some of the most modern communication equipment in areas deep within the countryside (Minh Hai has supplied television sets to 200 villages). These are very welcomed efforts.

Cadre training is of decisive importance in establishing the new culture. This is an area in which the provinces of the South are still encountering many difficulties. Hardly any of the cultural cadres now working at basic units have received formal training. Some cadres on the provincial, municipal and district levels have attended training schools. However, we absolutely must adopt a long-term plan for the training of cultural and art cadres so that, within the space of one or two 5-year plans, the provincial, municipal, district and basic levels have professional cultural cadres who meet specific standards. At present, not only is there a shortage of cadres within the cultural and art sector, but the activities of existing cadres are in a serious state of disorganization as well, which makes it difficult to achieve specialization. The development of the new culture demands that local leadership levels quickly overcome the thinking of "making do" and "doing without" in cadre work, plan the training and utilization of cadres and adopt necessary measures and policies that are well suited to a sector whose activities are new to the South.

Ten years have passed since the South was completely liberated. The socialist culture has been established in the southern provinces and is becoming stronger with each day that passes. However, molding the new man and developing the new culture are a long-range and difficult undertaking, one that entails a process of continuous struggle. The enemy is currently waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against us and looking for every way to breathe new life into the old culture, to bring about a resurgence of reactionary culture. This situation makes it even more necessary that we not relax our efforts for one moment in the struggle to build the new, socialist culture.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[The Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 91-92.

7809

CSO: 4210/10

## TEN YEARS OF BUILDING AND STRENGTHENING THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCES OF THE SOUTH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 58-62, 90

[Article by Vu Trong Kien]

[Text] Following the 1945 August Revolution, through 30 years of fighting filled with hardships and sacrifices, our people, under the correct leadership of the party, won victory over the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors, liberated the entire country, seized revolutionary political power throughout the country, reunified the country and began the advance by the entire country toward socialism. Rarely has a country such as ours had to wage an exceedingly arduous struggle lasting for several decades to resolve the issue that is fundamental to all revolutions, the issue of political power. Therefore, it can be said that the most valuable accomplishment, the accomplishment of most important significance brought about by the great victory won in the spring of 1975 was that it put revolutionary political power into the hands of our people throughout the country. It ushered in a new era, the era of our entire country being completely independent and reunified, our entire country advancing toward socialism. Much blood had to be shed in order for our people to achieve their most sacred, most cherished aspiration: to have political power in their own hands in order to build a life of comfort and happiness in independence, freedom and socialism. Therefore, our party, our people have been very concerned with building and strengthening the administration in the provinces of the South in order to make it the main tool by which the right of collective ownership of the working people is implemented in every field of life.

During the past 10 years, the people of the South, mindful of Lenin's teaching that "it is more difficult to maintain political power than seize it"(1), besides enjoying the basic advantages afforded by the country being quickly reunified in terms of state administration, the adoption of the new Constitution of the SRV, the enactment of the laws on building the administration and the experience of the socialist North in this area, have also had to overcome numerous difficulties and complex problems, particularly during the initial period of building and maintaining the administration.



Having lived for 20 years under U.S. neo-colonialism and suffering the serious consequences of the long and bitter war, the society of the South faced countless political, economic, cultural and social problems following liberation, problems which had to be resolved by the revolutionary administration. The more than 1 million puppet military and government personnel who remained following the collapse and tens of thousands of hoodlums, gangsters, prostitutes, vagrants, drug addicts and homeless persons caused a situation characterized by disorder. The American lifestyle pervaded society. Obstinate opposition elements continued their activities and were collaborating with reactionaries outside the country to subvert the revolutionary administration. In particular, the economy, an economy of false prosperity, an economy totally dependent upon foreign aid, encountered major difficulties in many different areas in the face of the new circumstances that existed... And, more recently, the enemy unleashed their war of aggression in the southwest and have been waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage. Natural disasters have occurred at many places.

It has been under such circumstances that the various levels of government in the South, under the concerned leadership of the party and with the enthusiastic support of the people and their interest in building the government, have made many efforts to grow and complete their tasks of transforming the old society, building the new and defending the socialist fatherland. These levels of government have recorded enormous achievements and made important contributions to the common victories won by our people in the South and throughout the country in every field of life while gaining useful experiences in order to continue to develop their role and impact. These experiences are:

1. Rapidly building a solid system of government levels with the aim of establishing and implementing the right of collective ownership of the working people in every aspect of life.

The most pressing task we faced after quickly toppling the puppet government and completely liberating the South was to immediately establish a system of government extending from the provincial and municipal to the basic levels. These levels of government quickly took over the management of the material-technical bases of the entire puppet government, beginning with the military, court and police facilities and the economic, information and communications bases and facilities in the large urban centers, such as Saigon, Can Tho, Da Nang, Hue and so forth as well as in the provincial seats, precincts, districts, subwards and villages. On the other hand, they suppressed diehard elements who were continuing to conduct acts of resistance and sabotage; at the same time, they reorganized social life. The system of subward and village governments was quickly established in order to immediately begin supporting the daily lives of the people.

Deserving of attention is the fact that we established governments in the municipalities and cities as soon as our military attacks and the uprisings by the masses resulted in victory. In many rural areas, under the leadership of the local party committee and along with the repeated military victories being won, our people arose, shattered the puppet government and set up their own government.

It is difficult to relate all of the difficulties that were encountered during the first days of building the various levels of government. Simply finding the cadres needed to organize the government apparatus on the provincial, district and basic levels proved to be a very large difficulty. At first, we established military management committees on the provincial and municipal levels and revolutionary people's committees in the districts, subwards and villages. Shortly thereafter, when the situation had stabilized, the focus of the various levels of government was shifted to the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship state, to suppressing elements who were resisting the revolution and advancing toward socialism in every aspect of the people's life. From the very outset, the various levels of government in the South created an atmosphere of national concord and implemented the policy of the party and state of clemency for those persons who mistakenly chose the wrong course and repented for their mistakes.

The various levels of the people's government relied upon the strength of the revolutionary mass organizations to bring forces together, to propagandize and educate the various strata of society in order to protect and strengthen the government. Many activists within the revolutionary movements, including intellectuals of the old regime, were selected for positions within the government apparatus, within scientific research agencies and social organizations in order to serve the people.

The government apparatus has been gradually strengthened. Today, a complete system of government has been established on all levels, a system which includes people's councils and people's committees that are elected by the people and have been fulfilling their role better with each passing day. The establishment of the system of government on the various levels and the efforts made to sufficiently strengthen this system provided a good foundation upon which to quickly achieve the reunification of the country in terms of state administration.

2. Beginning to successfully carry out the management tasks of the proletarian dictatorship state while fulfilling our noble international obligation.

To perform the two strategic tasks of the party in the new stage well, the various levels of government in the South have been closely coordinating their efforts in recent years and insured the fulfillment of both of their functions, the function of suppression and the function of organizing and building, giving light attention to neither. The realities of the revolution in the South have also proven that since being toppled, the enemy has been seeking ways to get back on their feet to oppose and subvert the revolution. As a result, in the field of security and social order and safety, there have been times when complex developments have occurred. In the South, the class struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism are very complicated struggles and have coalesced as one. The various levels of the people's government have employed many appropriate methods and necessary measures to maintain security and order, to transform the old way of life and establish the new. Special attention has been given to eradicating the breeding grounds of the social ills left behind by the old regime and giving the victims of the American-puppet regime a life of real

meaning. The various levels of government organized public confessions by puppet military personnel and puppet administration officials and either re-educated them by different methods and to varying degrees, assigned them to jobs in production or sent them to live with their families. Army and security forces have coordinated with the mass organizations in continuing efforts to track down diehard opposition elements and give their ringleaders the punishment they deserve. A number of spies inserted by the enemy with the intention of sabotaging and toppling the government have been caught. The enemy's war of aggression on the southwestern border was defeated. These developments prove that our people's government has stood firm in the face of every decisive challenge.

During the past 10 years, socialist transformation and socialist construction in the South have faced the various levels of the people's government with very large tasks. One of the largest of these tasks has been that of turning an economy that was based primarily upon foreign aid and supported the war of aggression into an independent, autonomous economy, developing production and meeting the everyday needs of the people as well as the needs involved in defending the fatherland. Under the socio-economic line and policies of the party, the various levels of the people's government have taken many steps to provide jobs to the millions of persons who once worked for the war machine of the Americans and puppets. They have encouraged and organized the movement by tens of thousands of fellow countrymen who fled to the cities from the countryside in search of a job to return to their former villages to work or go clear land in the new economic zones. They have sent thousands of victims of the old society to rehabilitation camps.

Many industrial, small industry and handicraft units within the municipalities and towns have been encouraged by the various levels of government to resume operations. At the same time, the various levels of government have set up many new production and business units to provide jobs to persons who are unemployed and gradually resolve the unemployment problem left behind by the old society, thereby helping to make the cities places that work and produce, places of economic, cultural and social development instead of places of amusement and extravagance.

In view of the facts that the economy still consists of many different segments and the social situation is still complex, the various levels of the people's government devoted many efforts to the struggle to abolish the compradore bourgeoisie and have made numerous efforts to combat the enemy's schemes and acts of economic sabotage, carry out the transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce by suitable methods, gradually bring capitalists within the sphere of socialism and place them under state management. Many bourgeois specialists have been educated and are participating in serving the daily needs of the working people. Under the leadership of the government, many basic industrial units have been making increasing progress in their operations.

In recent years, the various levels of government have been giving their attention to intensifying the socialist transformation of agriculture and fishing. Within agriculture, 52 percent of farm households and 44 percent of cropland have been brought into collective production. The socialist

production relations within agriculture have gradually been expanded and strengthened, thus creating conditions conducive to the development of production forces, to the acceleration of the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. The various levels of government are stepping up the application of advanced scientific and technical achievements and the construction of the material bases of socialism (some large-scale projects have been put into operation and are operating efficiently). At the same time, attention has been given to gradually establishing the new culture, molding the new, socialist man and eradicating the vestiges of the old culture and way of life. Tens of millions of children of the working people are attending kindergartens, general schools, colleges and vocational middle schools. Thousands of hospitals and public health stations have been constructed or expanded to serve the needs of the people.

Thus, during the past 10 years, the various levels of government have been built and protected, thereby not only making it possible to maintain political security and social order and safety, but also making it possible to transform many features of the old society, build a number of the material bases of socialism and gradually improve the lives of the people.

Another important task that the various levels of government have performed well, a task performed together with the other localities of the country and in a high spirit of proletarian internationalism, has been the task of supplying manpower and materiel to the fraternal people of Cambodia, assisting them in their fight to deliver themselves from genocide and establish a people's government and establishing brotherhoods between the provinces of the South and the provinces of Laos and Cambodia with the aim of safeguarding the gains of the revolution and building the new life of the people of the three countries.

3. The various levels of government have increasingly displayed their character as a government of, by and for the people.

Living under colonialism, both old and new, for many years has made the people of the South even more clearly aware of the splendid nature of the revolutionary government, of the new social system. Through concrete actions and deeds, the various levels of government in the South have increasingly become worthy of being the direct representatives of the legitimate interests of the working people. They have gradually created the conditions for the people, who were once oppressed and exploited, to become the masters of the country, to participate in the management of all aspects of the life of society and supervise the activities of the organs of power and executive agencies of the state on each level. When they were handed their ballots to cast their votes in the election of the unified National Assembly of the entire country, thereby exercising their right as a citizen, our fellow countrymen were very deeply moved and felt a very deep sense of joy. With each election that has been held, the various levels of government have publicly reviewed their performance and listened to the opinions of citizens in order to perform their tasks better.

The various levels of government have attached importance to managing society in accordance with the law. They have promptly prosecuted violations of the

law, guaranteed each city of equality under the law and taught citizens to study and act in accordance with the Constitution and the law. As a result, they have gained the participation of the mass organizations and individuals in the building of the government, gained their material and moral support and put into practice the guideline "the state and the people working together." Through the mass movement to build the government, many places have discovered and removed from the government apparatus undesirable elements and opportunists who had infiltrated it.

To strengthen the alliance of workers and farmers, the various levels of government have created conditions conducive to and organized product trade between industry and agriculture, between the cities and the countryside through economic contracts. The supplying of industrial products in trade and the procurement of agricultural products by the socialist mode have caused laborers to work with enthusiasm and zeal and are seen by both workers and farmers as serving their own interests. As a result, some places have gradually managed to remove private merchants from the rural market.

The governments at many places, especially on the subward level, have organized socialist commerce networks that deliver goods directly to consumers, thereby helping in a practical way to serve the daily needs of citizens. They have also concerned themselves with acting upon and resolving complaints filed by citizens and meeting their legitimate requirements.

To serve the people better, the various levels of government have gradually strengthened their apparatus, improved the qualities and skills of their cadres, improved their work methods and taken steps to combat bureaucracy and corruption, to display greater dynamism and creativity.

The strides forward that have been made over the past 10 years in building and strengthening the various levels of government in the southern provinces have, above everything else, been the result of the correct, clear-sighted leadership provided by the Party Central Committee and government, the special concern shown by the highest leaders of our party and state and the ability of the various party committee echelons to creatively apply the policies and lines of the party to the specific circumstances of their localities. The revolutionary zeal of the people, who have supported the party as one, have worked with determination to build and strengthen their government, and the efforts made by the corps of cadres on the various levels of government to grow, to overcome each difficulty and improve their management skills have also been very important factors.

However, besides the major achievements and valuable experiences that have been gained, the various levels of government in the South still have weaknesses and shortcomings that must be corrected. In the face of the new requirements of the two strategic tasks in the situation we face today, the various levels of government within the provinces of the South, as part of the unified, nationwide system of government, must be made strong and solid in every respect, from the provincial and municipal to the village and subward levels. Importance must be attached to the role played by the basic level of government. At the same time, we must constantly raise the standards and improve the management skills of all levels of government. We must maintain

the centralism and unity of the central level well while tapping the dynamism and creativity of the local level. Particular attention must be given to improving the quality of the corps of cadres. We must concern ourselves with training local cadres and avoid unnecessary disruptions. However, we must also avoid localism and departmentalism. Through practical approaches and measures, our government must insure that the right of collective ownership of the working people is implemented better with each passing day and in every field of life. The close ties between the government and the people must be strengthened. On the one hand, the various levels of government must organize an educational effort to raise the people's sense of ownership and their ability to exercise it; on the other hand, they must make it possible for the people to actively contribute to building the government. They must adopt good methods of organization and management and look after every aspect of the people's lives. In their practical activities, the various levels of government must be thoroughly familiar with the law, manage their work in accordance with the law and avoid being subjective and doing as they see fit in their management activities so that the government apparatus is truly an effective one. At the same time, they must actively contribute to perfecting the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages" and implement the statement made by General Secretary Le Duan during the ceremonies held to commemorate the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam: "In order for the state to be strong, the party must be strong, the people must be strong."(2)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 585.
2. Le Duan: "Vi To quoc xa hoi chu nghia, vi hanh phuc cua nhan dan"[For the Socialist Fatherland, for the Happiness of the People], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 2, 1985, p 16.

7809

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## PRESIDENT HO AND THE SPREAD OF MARXISM-LENINISM TO VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 63-69

[Article by Van Tao]

[Text] The history of the international communist and worker movement shows that not only is Marxist-Leninist theory itself of special importance, but how Marxist-Leninist theory is adopted and spread is also of very important significance. If Marxism-Leninism is not adopted correctly, it cannot be spread correctly within the worker movement and there are even times when its fundamental principles are distorted. Only genuine revolutionaries of the working class can adopt Marxism-Leninism correctly and spread it correctly within the worker movement.

Nguyen Ai Quoc was such a person. He made enormous contributions to adopting and spreading Marxism-Leninism to the East, in general, and Vietnam, in particular. The adoption and spread of Marxism-Leninism were a task related to revolutionary struggle and, in fact, became a very intense revolutionary struggle.

In the international arena, it was the struggle against the opportunist trends, such as Menshevikism, Trotskyism, reformism, revisionism and social chauvinism, among the traitors of the 2nd International. Domestically, it was the struggle against everything that reflected bigoted nationalism, racism, bourgeois reformism, localism and factionalism together with the maladies of infantilism of the workers within a backward agricultural country ruled by imperialists and feudalists.

The key factor, the most important and practical factor in our country's revolution was the correct adoption by Nguyen Ai Quoc of Leninism as it related to the national and colonial questions. These were also questions that were raised and challenged in the struggle between the 3rd International and the 2nd International. That struggle had a direct influence upon Nguyen Ai Quoc in his search for the path to national salvation. He recalled: at that time "I felt a sense of solidarity with the Russian revolution and the leader of that revolution but had not yet read even one of Lenin's works... When I asked: 'Who has clearly stated their solidarity with the peoples oppressed by colonialism?'; they replied: 'The 3rd International.' Then, someone gave me Lenin's 'Theses on the National and Colonial Questions' to

read, which had just been printed in L'HUMANITE Newspaper... With that, I made my choice: to endorse the 3rd International and place my full trust in Lenin."(1)

The first draft of Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" helped Nguyen Ai Quoc to understand the fundamental views of the Communist International concerning the national liberation movement. Like someone thirsty being given a drink of water, someone hungry being given food, he had been given new realizations and new feelings. Lenin's theses moved and inspired him very deeply, made everything perfectly clear and gave him deep confidence. He was so happy he cried. Sitting alone in his room, he said in a loud voice as if addressing a large crowd: "My abused and suffering fellow countrymen! This is what we need, this is our path to liberation!"(2)

From then on, Nguyen Ai Quoc asserted with full confidence: "The national question...is only one part of the overall issue of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship"(3) and "only socialism, only communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and workers of the world from slavery."(4)

Having correctly adopted Marxism-Leninism, Nguyen Ai Quoc then personally spread it to Vietnam through books and newspaper articles written by him. His first articles appeared in the French Communist Party's COMMUNIST REVIEW. Later, articles by him appeared in LE PARIA Newspaper, of which he was editor. His book "French Colonialization on Trial" was published in 1925 in Paris. Nguyen Ai Quoc's newspaper articles and books awakened our fellow countrymen. They were like a breath of fresh air to our country as well as the peoples of the other oppressed countries and "provided answers that were in line with the views, aspirations and sentiments of the youths of that day."(5)

In June 1923, Nguyen Ai Quoc travelled to the Soviet Union. There, he published in PRAVDA Newspaper, the organ of the CPSU, and the Communist International's JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE many articles on the tasks of the national liberation revolution in the colonies, articles based on Lenin's line and the experience of the Russian October Revolution. In November 1924, tasked with building the communist and worker movement in Southeast Asia, a task that he had been given by the Communist International, he travelled to China and began personally guiding the revolutionary movement in Vietnam. In June 1925, he launched YOUTH Newspaper, 88 issues of which were published by April 1927. The weekly YOUTH made an important contribution to spreading Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam. In 1927, the Department of Propaganda of the League of Oppressed Peoples in East Asia published the texts of the lessons used by Nguyen Ai Quoc in his training classes in Canton, China, in book form under the title "The Revolutionary Road." This book presented the experiences of the world revolution and set forth guidelines for the national liberation revolution in Vietnam.

Generally speaking, the entire process of the adoption and spread of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam by Nguyen Ai Quoc during the 10 years from 1920 to 1930 was a process of unceasing struggle to establish the revolutionary truth of the age. In terms of theory as well as practice, that this struggle was victorious was clearly evident in the following areas of fundamental significance:



1. It brought the people's, national democratic revolution in Vietnam into the category of the proletarian revolution and combined the struggle for national liberation with the struggle to liberate the class. From this perspective, the issue of utmost importance was the need to quickly establish the right of the working class to lead the national liberation movement. At that time, the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie in Vietnam for the right to lead the revolution was still unresolved. During the years from 1927 to 1930, the Vietnam Nationalist Party--a party with bourgeois leanings--still had intentions of competing with the working class of Vietnam for the right to lead the revolution. As a result, it was not a simple or easy matter to establish the right of the working class to lead the revolution or bring the national democratic revolution in Vietnam into the category of a proletarian revolution. This is not to mention the fact that rightist opportunists outside the country were insisting that the proletariat was incapable of leading the national democratic revolution. It was their contention that the democratic bourgeois revolution had to be led by the bourgeoisie and that the proletariat was obliged to lend its assistance to and follow the lead of this revolution.

The leader Nguyen Ai Quoc, imbued as he was with the shining truth of Leninism and with the realities of the Vietnamese revolution lighting his way, was not fooled by the faulty arguments advanced by the opportunists on the right. The realities of the revolution in Vietnam showed that were we to simply wait for the national bourgeoisie, a small and powerless class, to bring itself to reformism, never to the level of revolution, it would have been impossible to lead a democratic national revolution, the targets of which, the aggressive imperialists and reactionary feudalists, were working in close collaboration. Only the working class, a class that was maturing, a class that brimmed with vitality as a result of carrying on the heroic, unyielding tradition of the nation and adopting the very best revolutionary thinking of the times, was capable of leading this revolution. Therefore, Nguyen Ai Quoc waged a resolute struggle against the poisons of the opportunists and was determined to have the Vietnamese working class seize the exclusive right to lead the revolution.

2. The determination emerged to carry out the democratic national revolution and advance to the socialist revolution within a semi-feudal colony. In the age of imperialism, according to the principles of Leninism, the revolution, by taking advantage of the uneven development of capitalism, could break out and win victory in a single country, in the country that was the weakest link in the chain of imperialism. However, opportunists within the international communist and worker movement were opposed to this argument. Plekhanov and Kautsky "sided with the bourgeoisie in ridiculing every thought of revolution, every measure that would lead to an open revolutionary struggle."(6) The revisionists, on the other hand, who stressed reformism and "considered reforms as the way to achieve socialism gradually"(7), in essence rejected revolutionary struggle. The Trotskyites rejected the idea that socialism could be built by workers and peasants and the idea that the socialist revolution could achieve success in only one country.

In 1925, in "The Revolutionary Road," the leader Nguyen Ai Quoc, believing fully in the truth of Leninism and with this belief having been verified by

the realities of the Russian revolution, argued the need to follow the example of the Russian revolution by carrying out a thorough national democratic revolution and advancing to the socialist revolution. This is the course that the Vietnamese, in particular, and the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, in general, are following today.

3. A close tie was established between the national and colonial questions and the peasant question. The essence of Trotskyism was the rejection of the idea that the basic elements of the masses within the peasantry could be drawn into socialist construction. They maintained that peasants were reactionary by nature and could not join workers in the advance to socialism, that the working class was incapable of leading peasants away from their private economy and down the path of collectivization... In Vietnam, there were also many persons who viewed the peasant issue incorrectly. Phan Boi Chau, while appealing for a "union of hearts among all 10 circles," never once raised the peasant issue. Phan Chu Trinh had no clear concept of the enormous role played by peasants and maintained that the feudalists could only be toppled by relying upon the imperialists. Even among progressive minded petty bourgeois intellectuals, such as Nguyen Thai Hoc and the other leaders of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, importance was only attached to attracting the support of patriotic bourgeois intellectuals and landowners, of wealthy peasants and soldiers, in general. They had no awareness of the role played by peasants in the national democratic revolution.

Lenin once pointed out: without bringing the class struggle into the countryside, without uniting the mass of laborers in the countryside around the communist party of the urban proletariat, the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will remain unfinished."(8) Nguyen Ai Quoc, because he possessed ardent patriotism and lived a life close to the revolutionary masses, was quick to see the strength that peasants possessed. When he came upon Leninism, Nguyen Ai Quoc quickly adopted Lenin's view concerning the national and colonial questions, saw that the national revolution in the colonies was essentially a peasant revolution and recognized the enormous role played by the alliance of workers and peasants in the course of the revolution. All of his works closely tied the national and colonial issues to the peasant issue and provided the working class with guidelines by which to correctly resolve the peasant issue within the revolution.

However, he never overestimated the capabilities of peasants. While the populists and opportunists within the international communist and worker movement overemphasized the role played by peasants, maintaining that it was possible to carry out the socialist revolution by relying upon peasants, Nguyen Ai Quoc saw both the limitations and the negative aspects of peasants. At the 1st Congress of the Peasant International held in 1923, he asserted: "In the present age, the working class is the one and only class with the historic mission of leading the revolution to final victory by aligning itself with peasants. The trends of opportunism, of flattering farmers and viewing them as the main force, as the only force behind the revolution, as the most revolutionary corps will only lead to adventurism, to radicalism and anarchy and to the betrayal of Leninism."(9)

Such a correct view of the peasant issue was extremely important in leading the Vietnamese revolution. Because, in Vietnam, the Trotskyites used the peasant issue to undermine the revolutionary movement. The struggle against them, which was a protracted struggle, ultimately ended with the complete victory of Leninism and the line of the Indochinese Communist Party led by Nguyen Ai Quoc.

4. Proletarian international solidarity: as a result of correctly adopting Marxism-Leninism and correctly implementing the line on international solidarity, the Indochinese worker movement acquired a new strength. In fact, even during the period of the "awakening of the East," Vietnamese patriots began to see the need for international solidarity against the common enemy, imperialism, and sought international aid, considering it to be one of the factors in the success of the revolution. However, because of the limitations imposed on them by history and by their class, they did not know upon whom to rely, did not know who their strategic or temporary allies were and some of them even confused enemies with friends, consequently, their efforts ultimately ended in defeat. In the international arena at that time, the social chauvinists of the 2nd International were advocating "defend the fatherland" at any cost, that is, were opposed to Lenin's line on solidarity based on proletarian internationalism.

Lenin's slogan "proletarians of all oppressed countries and nations, unite!" had a very powerful impact. However, to implement this slogan, the working class of Indochina had to convince the people of Indochina to leave behind their national and racial prejudices, to stop distinguishing their friends from their enemies by the color of their skin, as a number of patriots had done, and to unite with the workers and laboring people of the mother country in the common struggle against imperialism. On the other hand, the working class of Indochina also had to give the working class and laboring people of the mother country a deep understanding of the colonial issue, a clear understanding of the miserable life of the people in the colonies and the revolutionary ability of these people to join them in the struggle against the common enemy. Nguyen Ai Quoc represented the Indochinese working class in this task of achieving international solidarity. In the debate on the national and colonial questions at the 5th Congress of the Communist International, he stressed: "To win victory, the revolution in the West must be closely linked to the anti-imperialist liberation movement in the colonies and enslaved countries."<sup>(10)</sup> He reminded the Communist Party of France of the need to give appropriate attention to the colonial question and assign its members the task of giving this question greater concern. In his work "French Colonialization on Trial," Nguyen Ai Quoc used graphic imagery to point out the need for international solidarity between the workers of the colonies and the workers of the mother country: "Capitalism is like a leech with one sucker attached to the proletariat in the mother country and the other sucker attached to the proletariat in the colonies. To kill this leech, we must simultaneously sever both suckers. If we only sever one, the other will continue to suck the blood of the proletariat, the leech will continue to live and the severed sucker will grow back."<sup>(11)</sup>

Only by achieving international solidarity could the workers of Indochina as well as the workers of the entire world acquire the strength needed to win victory over capitalism, over imperialism.

5. The national question: during the years of French colonialist rule, "French Indochina" was considered one nation even though it consisted of three: Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The national question was a question raised not only in Vietnam, but in all three countries on the Indochina peninsula as well. National liberation demanded that the nations of Indochina unite under a single banner of the proletariat, the banner brandished by the Indochinese Communist Party.

Having adopted the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the national question and having seen that theory proved by the realities of the revolution in the Soviet Union, Nguyen Ai Quoc spread it to Vietnam and led the Vietnamese working class in resolving the national question correctly. After asserting the important significance of leadership by the working class and the role of the alliance of workers and peasants in the revolution, he advocated the establishment of a broad united front within the nation at an early date.

Following its birth, the Indochinese Communist Party, in keeping with this spirit, adopted its policy on establishing the Anti-Imperialist Alliance. This was followed by the birth of one united national front after another such as the Democratic Front (1936-1939), the Anti-Imperialist National United Front (1939-1941), the Viet Minh Front (1941-1945), the Lien Viet Front (1946-1954), the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (1960-1975), and the Vietnam Fatherland Front (from 1954 to the present day). All of these fronts have been based on the alliance of workers and peasants, been led by the working class and united all classes, all parties, all patriotic religions in the cause of national liberation and then in the cause of advancing to socialism.

Also in the process described above, Nguyen Ai Quoc and the Indochinese Communist Party correctly resolved the question of the right of self-determination of nations in accordance with the principles of Leninism. In 1941, the Indochinese Communist Party, under Nguyen Ai Quoc's leadership, saw the need to uphold the right of self-determination of each of the three nations of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and called for the establishment of a separate national united front in each country. The Indochinese Communist Party was subsequently divided into three parties, one within each of the three countries, in order to lead the revolution within each country.

6. The development of the national democratic revolution into the socialist revolution: the struggle against the various types of opportunism centered directly on the issue of how the revolution would develop. Lenin had revealed that, in the age of imperialism, the proletariat not only has the ability, but also the historic mission to lead the national democratic revolution to its thorough conclusion in order to advance the country directly toward socialism. These two tasks of the revolution, although carried out by different strategies and tactics, remain the two successive stages of a revolutionary process led by the proletariat.

For Vietnam, this was a correct and creative revolutionary path, one consistent with heartfelt sentiments. Because, in Vietnam at that time, the French colonialist aggressors were maintaining a reactionary feudal regime as their lackeys and impeding the development of the national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie did not come into existence until the 1920's and was very unstable, very weak, was incapable of struggling against imperialism. It was only capable of reformism and never once reached the level of revolution. If, following the completion of the national democratic revolution, Vietnam continued to follow the capitalist path of development it would have been impossible for Vietnam to keep from falling into the clutches of neo-colonialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists. Moreover, the aspirations of the Vietnamese were to achieve independence and freedom and build a life of comfort and happiness. Therefore, there was no path to follow other than the path of the proletariat revolution, was no course to follow other than the course of developing from a national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The POLITICAL THESIS of the party (1930) stated: "This is the period of the world proletarian revolution and the period of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The proletarian dictatorship in other countries will help Indochina bypass the capitalist stage of development and advance, through struggle, straight down the path to socialism."(12)

In summary, thanks to Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is, President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our party and nation, the person who correctly adopted, who correctly spread and creatively applied Marxist-Leninist theory to the circumstances of our country, the working class and laboring people of our country correctly resolved the problems they faced regarding the line and tasks of the revolution, overcame numerous perils, won complete and thorough victory in the national democratic revolution and are today steadily advancing down the path of the socialist revolution.

Guided by the thinking of President Ho Chi Minh and under the talented and creative leadership of our party, our people will surely overcome each difficulty, implement the noble thoughts of President Ho and the correct lines and policies of the party in an excellent manner, successfully build socialism and firmly defend our fatherland, thereby making worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 519.
2. Ibid., p 175.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 217.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"..., p 176.
5. The Memoirs of Ton Duc Thang and Pham Hung, THONG NHAT Newspaper, 13 May 1960.

6. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Volume 26, p 408.
7. Ibid., Volume 20, p 79.
8. Ibid, 1978, Volume 41, p 208.
9. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, pp 157-158.
10. Ibid., p 217.
11. Ibid., p 454.
12. Van kien Dang 1930-1945 [Party Documents, 1930-1945], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1978, Volume I, p 68.

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## STUDYING THE STYLE OF UNCLE HO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 70-75

[Article by Dang Xuan Ky]

[Text] Today, we still often talk about studying the thinking, virtues and style of President Ho. However, most of our attention has been given to his thinking and virtues; appropriate attention has not been given to his style. Even the study of his thinking and virtues has not been carried out well at all times and places. For this reason, the party's 5th National Congress of Delegates stressed: "The party must attach special importance to organizing the systematic study of the thinking, virtues and style of President Ho Chi Minh throughout the party." (1)

To our entire party and all our people, the thinking, virtues and style of Uncle Ho are a perpetual and priceless heritage. They constituted the entity that was the character of Uncle Ho--a perfect model of the Vietnamese character--the character of a revolutionary, a communist, a pure, unparalleled example for the generations of Vietnamese of today and tomorrow.

Thinking, virtues and style are three closely related aspects of man. They encompass the reason and sentiment, the cognition and the practical actions of man. Thinking controls virtues and style. At the same time, through man's practical actions, virtues and style give expression to thinking.

In his teaching of cadres and party members, Uncle Ho always gave attention to all three aspects of thinking, virtues and style. He attached very much importance to thinking and virtues but never gave light attention to style. His teachings on style were frequently very specific and profound, very moving and persuasive and guided, in a direct way, the actions of everyone.

Uncle Ho gave his attention to teaching cadres and party members about style as it applies in all three fields of work, leadership and daily activities and in all three relations, relations in one's work, relations with others and relations with oneself.

He taught cadres and party members about style as well as about thinking and virtues not only through words and articles but, more importantly, through his own practical actions. He was the first to practice the motto "words must be

accompanied by actions" and practiced it better than anyone else. Moreover, he did much more than he said and wrote. Therein lie his greatness. It was also from this that everyone's unquestioning faith in Uncle Ho and the reverence of Uncle Ho, a reverence that approached sacred reverence, stemmed.

The style of Uncle Ho was a complete, model style that consisted of many diverse elements. In this article, we can only present some of the main elements of that style.

The most distinguishing feature of Uncle Ho's style was his relationship with the masses: he was close to, loved and respected the masses. He led the masses while upholding their right of ownership. He educated the masses while constantly learning from them. He gave attention to listening to the opinions of the masses but did not let the masses lead him. He lived a simple life and set examples for the masses. He was always concerned with their living conditions.

Uncle Ho taught our cadres and party members that they must "come from the masses and return to them." He frequently criticized the maladies of being remote from the masses, adopting the demeanor of a "revolutionary official," a "people's official" and not being worthy of being the servant, the student of the people. Leadership by fiat, authoritarianism toward the masses, coercing and intimidating the masses, not listening to the criticisms and proposals of the masses and ignoring their requirements and complaints were totally foreign to the views and style of Uncle Ho. He often reminded everyone: "We must love the people in order for the people to love us, to respect us."<sup>(2)</sup> Gaining the people's respect and trust, their love and support is a matter of winning the people's hearts. The exercise of power only creates fear, not trust and respect. The masses only trust and respect cadres and party members when they see that the feelings of cadres and party members lie entirely with the people, with the country as taught by Uncle Ho.

Uncle Ho's feelings for the country, for the people were as deep as the seas. As president of the country he was no different than he was when he returned to Pac Bo as Old Man Thu. When he occupied the presidential palace in the center of the capital Hanoi, Uncle Ho remained as close to everyone as he had been as Mr. K. in the Viet Bac combat zone. Although busy with very many important jobs of the party and state, he visited the basic units in Hanoi on hundreds of different occasions. He also made hundreds of visits to units of the People's Armed Forces in all sectors, branches and services to pay his regards to cadres and soldiers. He visited hundreds of worksites, enterprises, state farms, cooperatives, hospitals, schools, child care centers and kindergartens and many homes of ordinary workers and cadres. He travelled to many localities, from the midlands to the lowlands, from the mountains to the seacoast and distant islands. He received guests at the presidential palace on thousands of different occasions, not only in the formal reception room, but also beside the flower arbor or in the parquet courtyard. He was hospitable and courteous toward everyone. He was even this way toward teenagers and children. He once said to his attendants: "At home, you are sons and daughters, are nephews and nieces, but here you are my guests." He read each of the thousands of letters he received from many different persons



and either replied to them in full or issued specific instructions to responsible agencies concerning actions they should take.

Uncle Ho's style in his relations with the masses was also reflected in the simplicity with which he lived his life. To him, ceremonies were unnecessary or, if he had to abide by ceremony, he did so reluctantly. He viewed the people as his kin, his blood relatives. He always conveyed closeness and warmth, optimism and confidence, strong encouragement and inspiration to everyone and saw the very little, very practical things that needed to be done.

If Uncle Ho's relations with the masses were the most distinguishing feature of his style, his democratic collectivism was a feature of no less importance. On the basis of the Marxist-Leninist view regarding collectivism and the principle of democratic centralism of the new style party of the working class, he required that cadres and party members cultivate democratic collectivism in their work and leadership activities.

Being close to the collective, respecting the collective, tapping the strength of the collective, this spirit, once it pervades their thoughts and actions, helps cadres and party members to avoid many shortcomings and mistakes. As Uncle Ho often said, no one person can know everything, no one person can do everything. The same even applies to heroes and leaders: "of all the work performed by man in the world, the great heroes of past and present have performed only a small portion."<sup>(3)</sup> The intelligence of the person in charge, of the leader lies not only in what he thinks, but, more importantly, in his ability to tap and combine the intelligence of many other persons, of the collective. This combined intelligence, this sum, which can be arrived at by either addition or multiplication, is an intelligence that cannot be matched by any single person alone.

Of the person in charge, the leader, democratic collectivism demands that he broaden the practice of democracy internally, broaden the practice of democracy with the masses and tap the spirit of collective ownership of everyone. This approach generates a work atmosphere of activism, motivation and enthusiasm, an atmosphere filled with creativity. Uncle Ho once criticized the undemocratic leadership practices of some party organizations, practices which made persons who had opinions or criticisms to express not dare voice them, as a result of which the upper and lower levels grew apart, the masses grew distant from the party and initiative and enthusiasm were no longer being displayed in work. This kind of leadership only creates a "gloomy atmosphere" within the organization, creates "discouragement, resentment, indignation and dissatisfaction" among the masses, makes building strong, solid collectives impossible and reduces the confidence that the lower level and the masses have in the correct views of the party regarding collectivism, regarding collective ownership.

The style of collectivism and democracy requires that the person in charge, the leader, listen closely to what the lower level has to say and evoke from the lower level support of his own thoughts and views.

Uncle Ho possessed a very high sense of collectivism and democracy. Even though he was the leader of the party and state, he still practiced collectivism and democracy in his work with the Political Bureau, with the agencies of the party and state and gave very much attention to listening to the views of cadres, party members and ordinary citizens. He often submitted not only major documents of the party and state, but also newspaper articles and poems written by him to many members of the Political Bureau for them to read and comment upon. On many occasions, he also presented them to a number of other persons and even to his attendants for them to comment upon or point out things that were difficult to understand so that he could correct them. He utilized many agencies of the party and state in making the necessary preparations and before making a decision, he always questioned them again carefully and thoroughly. He regularly met with the Political Bureau on the days of the "new moon and full moon"(that is the 1st and 15th) of each month to work as a collective and voiced his criticisms in a quiet and relaxed but very effective way.

He read newspapers and letters daily. When he came upon opinions of cadres, party members or ordinary citizens that needed to be given attention and acted upon, Uncle Ho, instead of ignoring them, marked and compiled them and then asked responsible agencies of the party and state to take timely steps to resolve the problems in question.

In their work and leadership activities, he required that cadres and party members cultivate a scientific style, that they "work on the basis of science."

Small-scale production and a backward agriculture left us with an unscientific style, with the habit of "working like handicraftsmen." It is a style that encompasses a host of bad habits: taking whatever liberties one pleases, doing as one sees fit and taking things as they come; never planning, investigating or doing research; a lack of neatness and order; being careless, sloppy and slow; not considering time important; not being specific or practical; conservatism, inertia, a lack of foresight and breadth of vision, etc. Uncle Ho constantly criticized these phenomena and demanded that cadres and party members be determined to overcome them.

The scientific style demands that one approach work, approach leadership with clearly defined plans, plans for matters of both minor and major importance, plans that are both long-term and short-term in scope, that is, not just yearly plans, but plans for each week and day as well. It demands that a work program and schedule be adopted, that something be scheduled for every hour, as Uncle Ho had the habit of doing. He reminded us to value time; to arrive at work on time; to investigate and conduct research before beginning a job; to fully assess the situation and the matter at hand before making a decision. Persons in charge and leaders must have ways of using the apparatus and their colleagues to help them to obtain necessary, accurate information, especially to weed out inaccurate information and reports that are false.

The scientific style demands that we give attention to detail and be precise, practical and efficient in our work. Once a job has been started, we must perform it with determination and a sense of urgency, perform it thoroughly

and not fabricate a host of reasons why the job cannot be done. We must work efficiently but properly. Uncle Ho criticized the malady of "doing something in name only": "What such persons do is not real work. They do not start at the beginning, at the main point, do not proceed from the bottom up. The only purpose of their efforts is to draw attention to themselves, to record an achievement. A little bit of work is made to look like a lot so that they can submit an impressive report, which, under close scrutiny, turns out to be devoid of accomplishment. To do such is to lie to the party, to commit a crime against the party. Work that is not real and reports that are misleading are also a very dangerous malady."(4)

The scientific style also demands that we be thorough in our work and leadership efforts, that overall leadership be combined with concrete guidance, that we do much but give much thought to what we are doing, that we inspect and supervise what is being done closer and in a more timely fashion. Uncle Ho advised cadres that they must go and see what is being done firsthand, listen to what is being said, do what they tell others to do and think. The leadership and guidance they provide must be specific, not general, in nature. Such thoroughness helps the person in charge, the leader to develop an accurate and timely assessment of the situation so that accurate decisions can be made.

Uncle Ho always gave attention to teaching cadres and party member how to speak and write in their work and leadership activities. He required that they ask themselves the following questions before speaking or writing: to whom am I speaking or writing; what is the purpose of what I am about to say or write; and how should I speak or write? That is, they must know to whom they are speaking or writing, have a very clear purpose in mind and express themselves very clearly.

To cadres and party members, the persons to whom they speak and write are the masses. Their purpose is to publicize and explain the lines and policies of the party so that the masses understand, remember and act in accordance with them. Therefore, cadres and party members must be trained so that they develop a simple, clear, concise, meaningful, easily understood and effective style of speaking and writing. They must be trained to guard against a "meandering" and "sloppy" style, that is, against speaking and writing without prior investigation and research, without grasping the crux of the issue at hand, without careful analysis and without proposing solutions to problems raised. Uncle Ho reminded persons in charge, reminded leaders: "If you do not know or understanding something well, do not speak or write about it. Do not just speak or write on any subject if you have nothing to say, nothing to write about."(5)

Before speaking or writing, one must give the subject being presented full and thorough thought and arrange his thoughts carefully. Once an article or speech has been prepared, it must be rechecked three or four times. If it is an important document, it must be rechecked nine or ten times. Moreover, the author himself must criticize it and ask the opinions of others. Superfluous sentences, sentences that serve no purpose must be deleted.

When speaking or writing, one must also avoid a style that is "affected"; not "look down on the audience or put on airs"; not use terms simply because of their ring or simply to make an impression; and not make frequent use of a string of words committed to memory or a series of foreign words, which are sometimes used incorrectly and are even not well understood by the speaker or writer himself. The approach must be to insure that "every thought, every sentence, every word clearly expresses the thoughts and aspirations of the masses."(6)

To achieve such a style of speaking and writing, Uncle Ho demanded that we "learn to speak as the masses speak"(7) because the way that the masses speak is very explicit, very expressive and very effective yet very simple.

Throughout his life, Uncle Ho spoke and wrote as he taught us to speak and write. His words struck the heart of the people. They were words they understood, were moving words that inspired everyone to fulfill his or her duty.

Uncle Ho required that each cadre and party member constantly cultivate a simple, wholesome and pure style of life. Noble revolutionary thinking and virtues must become the daily habits of everyone. Concerning Lenin, our Uncle Ho expressed heartfelt words: "In the eyes of the peoples of the East, Lenin was more than just a leader, a commander. He was also a charismatic teacher. His disdain for things extravagant, his passion for work, his pure and simple way of life and his noble soul irresistibly drew our hearts to him."(8) Thus, the attraction that Lenin had lay not only in the greatness of his thinking and the brilliance of his talent, but also in the purity, wholesomeness and simplicity of his everyday life. Throughout his life, Uncle Ho taught us to view Lenin's life as the most beautiful of lives, view Lenin as the most complete human being.

Each of us has certain desires. Uncle Ho taught cadres and party members that they must direct these desires toward the struggle to achieve the goals and ideals of the revolutionary, the communist. He once said about himself: "I have but one desire, one ultimate desire, namely, to see our country independent, our people totally free, to see each of my fellow countrymen well fed and well clothed, to see everyone educated."(9) If the desires of man are only oriented toward what man eats and wears, toward shelter and travel, toward ordinary sexual drives and these are considered to be of foremost importance, to be above everything else, the means then become the end, as a result of which man's goals in his life are improper or, more correctly stated, man's goals in his life are ignoble. Uncle Ho taught: "Everyone wants to eat and dress well but these desires must conform with the times, with circumstances. It is immoral for someone to want to eat and dress better than everyone else at a time when our people still suffer privations."(10)

According to Uncle Ho, everyone must learn to practice self-control and not allow vulgar desires to become habits, to become part of their everyday life. Because, once they do become habits, they are habits that are very hard to break and sometimes lead man to depravity, deviancy and corruption. Uncle Ho reminded us: "If persons do not maintain the habit of being frugal, they become gluttonous and crave all sorts of luxury items. And, when their

salaries are not enough, how do they get the things they want? They then have only two choices: one, to steal them from the government and, the other, to take money in bribes."(11) This self-control must be imposed first upon one's personal desires and ambitions and be expressed by "not desiring status; not desiring wealth; not desiring pleasure; not desiring the flattery of others. Such will keep you honest and ever free of corruption."(12) At the same time, controlling the desires and ambitions of one's wife and children, of one's blood relatives is an issue with which the cadre and party member must be concerned and has a responsibility toward. This is an area in which the least bit of indifference, permissiveness, unconcern and tolerance can lead to consequences that often times cannot be foreseen.

The simplicity, wholesomeness and purity displayed by Uncle Ho in his way of life, in all aspects of his daily life, such as his meals and style of dress, the surroundings in which he lived, the way he travelled and how he treated and related to others, are well known by all Vietnamese. When they met with Uncle Ho or visited where he lived and worked, friends from throughout the world as well as every foreign guest to our country saw the great simplicity that was his. So great was this simplicity that Janet Vermed Torrez was moved to exclaim: "We, his friends, do not know what to offer him as a gift. It seems that all he wants is support for the just cause of Vietnam."(13)

In summary, President Ho's style was a style oriented toward the masses, was collective, democratic and scientific. It was a simple, clear, concise, easily understood and effective way of speaking and writing. It was simplicity, wholesomeness and purity in his everyday life. It was a style that was thoroughly revolutionary and profoundly scientific. It incorporated the very best attributes of Vietnamese tradition, of the people and nation of Vietnam. His style was very modern and always directed man's thoughts toward the future, which is an indispensable part of the character of the new, socialist and communist men and women. It was precisely because of this quality that, in the 1920's, Osip Mandelstam saw in him an attraction so extraordinary that it had to be admired and was quick to recognize: "From Nguyen Ai Quoc, there radiates a culture, not European culture, but perhaps the culture of the future."(14)

Uncle Ho's teachings concerning the style that cadres and party members should adopt and his own style will forever be a priceless heritage of ours. If we cultivate a style patterned after that of Uncle Ho among the mass of cadres and party members, it will surely help to bring about a strong change in the situation and successfully complete the revolutionary tasks set by the party.

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8. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, pp 521-522.
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10. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan"[With the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, pp 307-308.
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13. "Bac Ho o Phap"[Uncle Ho in France], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 74.
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## SOME THOUGHTS ON THE MILITARY THINKING OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 76-80

[Article by Lieutenant General Hoang Phuong]

[Text] One of the extremely valuable legacies left by President Ho Chi Minh to us and future generations is his military thinking, which was a very basic factor of decisive significance in laying the foundation for the correct and creative military line of our party.

The military thinking of President Ho is a body of knowledge that encompasses the issues of theory and violent revolutionary force, of armed uprisings and people's war, of building the people's armed forces, building the rear area and national defense system of all the people, of strategy in war and military art with the aim of defeating every enemy aggressor within the context of the country and people of Vietnam arising in struggle under a colonial and semi-feudal regime to win independence and freedom and advance to socialism. It was the result of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the actual circumstances of Vietnam, combining the fine traditions of the nation with the intelligence of mankind in the new age and combining the ideals of independence and freedom with the ideals of communism, the spirit of ardent patriotism with the genuine proletarian international spirit.

President Ho Chi Minh's adoption of Marxism-Leninism and his assertion that the path of national salvation lay in the proletarian revolution had a decisive influence upon the formation of his military thinking. At the very outset, President Ho Chi Minh, with a firm grasp of the essence of Marxism-Leninism and a clear knowledge of who the enemies of his nation were, established as the foundation of his military thinking the use of violent revolutionary force to drive off the country-robbers. To this there was no alternative. However, how, in the face of enemies who were ruthless imperialists, whose ruling apparatus was skilled in suppression and who possessed very large military and economic potentials, could violent revolutionary force be successfully employed at a time when our people were being controlled and deceived by them, had no weapons at their disposal and were inferior to the enemy in terms of both military and economic forces? Militarily, President Ho Chi Minh applied the universal laws of coordinated

armed uprisings and revolutionary war in a very creative manner well suited to the conditions of the country and people of Vietnam during each stage of history in order to ultimately win victory over every enemy.

What he worked hard to build, on the basis of scientifically analyzing our forces and those of the enemy, was determination to win victory over the enemy in every situation in order to win independence and freedom and defend the fatherland. His determination from a strategic standpoint that "the war of resistance will end in victory, independence and reunification will be achieved was not only his firm aspiration and unshakeable belief, but also was the noble mission, the noble goal that he set for himself and all the people to achieve. This can be said to be the starting point of President Ho Chi Minh's military thinking. He said: "Regardless of how great the loss of life might be and regardless of how long our war of resistance lasts, we will fight to the end, fight until Vietnam is totally independent and reunified."(1) "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."(2) The task of all the people in the revolutionary struggle, in general, and armed struggle, in particular, was to find every way to win victory over the enemy, regardless of how strong their forces might be, regardless of whether they were imperialists or reactionaries. Winning victory over the enemy was a requirement faced by our people throughout the course of their long revolutionary undertaking, from seizing political power and defeating every counter-attack by the enemy to protecting the gains of the revolution in order to make the country totally independent and reunified and set it on the course to socialism. President Ho Chi Minh explained: "We have been sacrificing lives to make revolution and therefore must be thorough in the revolution we are carrying out. Only by risking our lives many times can we bring happiness to the people."(3) The history of our people's struggle to build and defend the country proved that.

To win total victory, it was first of all necessary for our people's revolutionary cause to be placed under the absolute leadership of the party. Therefore, the armed struggle had to be waged in accordance with the line of the party. The subordination of military activities to political affairs was basic to the military thinking of President Ho and was a principle that he advanced to guide the war effort, organize and train the armed forces, guide military art and establish the correct relationships between the armed struggle and the other fields of struggle, between the army and the people, between the army and the party organization and revolutionary government. As a result, the armed forces have always fully complied with the lines and policies, with each resolution of the party and displayed unquestioned loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the party and people. The thinking of being someone deserving of merit, arrogance, views contrary to the lines and positions of the party and improper actions toward the people have always been promptly criticized. President Ho said: "The army must respect the leadership of the party and government, must assist the various party committee echelons and local governments. It must avoid exaggerating its own importance because, in times of success, it is easy to exaggerate one's importance and once someone has, he falls behind."(4)

While citing the need for the party to lead the struggle for liberation, President Ho gave very much attention to mobilizing, educating and organizing



all the people for the fight against the enemy to save the country. His thinking was not to use our army as the only force fighting the army of the enemy, but to bring all the people into the fight and force the enemy to fight an entire nation, not simply fight another army. Therefore, he set the following requirement: "The 31 million fellow countrymen in the two zones of our country, old and young, male and female alike, must be 31 million brave American killers fighting to save the country, determined to win final victory."(5) Believing in the strength of all the people, a people with a tradition of uniting against foreign aggression, a people possessed of ardent patriotism and the ability to succeed in everything they undertake, President Ho fully concerned himself with mobilizing, educating and organizing the people so that they participated in the fight against the enemy in every way possible. He reminded the various levels of leadership to display a very high spirit of responsibility toward mobilizing all the people for the fight against the enemy, toward organizing and guiding the actions of the masses on an increasingly high level by means of very concrete measures that yield large results while maintaining and building our revolutionary forces.

To his way of thinking, the fight waged by all the people against the enemy had to be closely tied to a full-scale fight against the enemy on the military, political, economic, cultural and other fronts. The struggle on these fronts generated enormous strength that would bring the war of resistance to victory. The two wars of resistance fought by our people against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists very clearly reflected President Ho's thinking concerning a full-scale war of resistance waged by all the people.

To win victory over aggressor armies supplied with modern equipment and possessed of powerful capabilities, President Ho and our party adopted the strategy of waging a protracted fight. Because they were relying upon the superiority of their military forces over ours, the enemy planned to strike quickly and win victory quickly. Therefore, "we employed the strategy of a protracted war of resistance to develop our forces and gain experience."(6) By fighting a protracted war in order to gain time for the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy to change in a direction favorable to us and allow positive factors to evolve, the cause of resistance would become a material and moral force, would become stronger with each battle. Bugged down in a long and unjust war, attrition would take its toll on the manpower and materiel of the enemy, public opinion would denounce them and their internal antagonisms would become increasingly sharp. Their forces would grow increasingly weak and ultimately suffer total defeat. This thinking of fighting a protracted war reflected determination to fight and win. "As long as one aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight and drive him off." However, fighting a protracted war did not mean being passive and not being concerned about when the war ended. Rather, it meant that all our people and our entire army had to make very strenuous efforts in everything they did in order to win victory gradually and advance to total victory and make preparations to win victory quickly when the opportunity arose. Therefore, waging a protracted fight was a process of taking a great deal of initiative in attacking the enemy by means of appropriate methods of fighting and attacks of appropriate size based on the guidelines of using few forces to fight the enemy's many forces, using weakness to attack strength. There was

no way to drive off the aggressor forces if we did not take the offensive. Viewed from an overall perspective, both wars of resistance fought against France and the United States were efforts characterized by "being determined to continuously take the offensive." President Ho's thinking of taking the offensive guided our army and people in retaining the initiative against the enemy and forcing them to deal with our attacks. Supported by the battlefield deployment of all the people fighting the enemy, we were able to fight the enemy in the mountainous jungles and rural lowlands as well as in the cities by means of suitable forms and methods of fighting. Wherever there were enemy forces there were people of ours, old and young, male and female alike, fighting them in response to the appeal made by President Ho: "If you have a rifle, use it; if you only have a sword, use that; if you don't have a sword, use a hoe, a stick, everyone must make every effort to fight the colonialists and save the country." As a result, the forces of the resistance were always larger than those of the enemy even though the enemy's troop strength was larger than that of our army. With such spirit and forces, the battlefield deployment of the people's war became increasingly effective and created favorable conditions for us to launch attacks at targets and times selected by us. President Ho's thinking of taking the offensive taught our armed forces and people not to deny the need for taking the offensive in certain cases; however, as President Ho explained, this style of defense is an active defense, one that involves attacking enemy forces in order to defend ourselves, not withdrawing to a position and allowing the enemy to attack us at will. The thinking of taking the offensive did not mean attacking the enemy in an impetuous or careless manner, rather, it required full compliance with President Ho's instruction that we "strike only where victory is assured and never strike when victory is not assured."(7)

To wage a war of resistance of all the people under the thinking of taking the offensive, it was absolutely necessary that we launch the guerrilla war, which was one of the basic elements of the revolutionary war in our country, was a fundamental way to mobilize all the people for the fight against the enemy. The guerrilla war forced the enemy to spread their forces thinly. As a result, it created many enemy weaknesses for our main forces to attack. Wherever the enemy went, wherever they employed their forces, they were attacked by us. They were not even secure within the areas they controlled. Their soldiers lived in a constant state of fear. They had no appetite for their food and did not sleep well. The forces of the enemy were being worn down, both in terms of morale and materiel, faster than the enemy could provide reinforcements. The widespread development of the guerrilla war created favorable conditions for us to build up the army, especially the main force units. However, the guerrilla war could not meet the requirement of inflicting major losses upon the main force, strategic mobile corps of the enemy in order to conclude the war. Therefore, the guerrilla war had to be intensified to create the conditions for the emergence and development of conventional warfare waged by main force military corps. These corps also constituted a basic component of the revolutionary war in our country. The close coordination between the guerrilla war and the conventional war enabled our people's war to gradually achieve the strength with which to overwhelm the forces of the enemy in the final stage of the war in order to win total victory.

Organizing forces for the fight against the enemy was a job with which President Ho was very concerned. He said: "To achieve liberation, we must fight the Japanese fascists and the French. For this, we need military forces. To acquire forces, we must have an organization."(8) On the basis of the revolutionary organizations and patriotic mass organizations that had been established and were conducting activities under the leadership of the party, self-defense units, guerrilla units and the Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation came into being. These were good foundations upon which to build the people's armed forces to serve as the nucleus in the fight by all the people against the enemy.

President Ho Chi Minh proposed the building of armed forces consisting of militia and self-defense forces, local forces and main force troops at an early date. Each of these elements of the armed forces had a clearly defined function and was structured along rational lines. They coordinated in attacking the enemy, in assisting one another's development and emulated one another in recording feats of arms. Improving the quality of each element of the armed forces was a constant concern of President Ho. This quality had its origins in the leadership of the party and the armed forces' ties of kinship to the people. Because the building of main force units required painstaking efforts, President Ho and the Party Central Committee always exhorted and encouraged our fellow countrymen to provide assistance in every way possible. As a result, our army, although it went into combat as soon as it came into existence, still completed its missions, grew rapidly and became stronger with each battle.

To insure victory in the war of resistance, we had to have a rear area that was solid in every respect. President Ho, who gave very much attention to the building of base areas during the period spent preparing for the general uprising, attached even more importance to the building of the rear area during the war of resistance. In a protracted war of resistance, success was impossible without a solid rear area. Therefore, he concerned himself with strengthening each factor that made for a solid rear area, from building the various levels of government, increasing production, wiping out illiteracy and carrying out cultural development to organizing combat villages, educating teenagers and children, guarding against spies, protecting classified information, etc. As a result, the machinery of the resistance operated smoothly, operated better with each passing day, thus enabling our people to implement the policy of "waging the war of resistance and building the country at the same time" and practice self-reliance while making every effort to win the sympathy and support of the fraternal countries and fulfill their international obligation.

In guiding the development of military art, President Ho considered it important to correctly evaluate the enemy in order to develop effective methods of fighting. He constantly reminded cadres and soldiers of the need to be highly vigilant against the enemy. The larger our victories became, the more necessary it was to not underestimate the enemy. He taught that we would win victory if we knew the enemy but would be defeated if we allowed the enemy to know us. Therefore, we had to maintain strict secrecy. "Every possible precaution must be taken to maintain the secrecy of each and every job, to maintain secrecy in all cases: at cafes, in our conversations, at work...by

maintaining secrecy we have already taken one step toward victory."(9) He required that our army fully practice the thinking of killing enemy forces, capturing prisoners and capturing weapons while preserving our forces. He gave much attention to utilizing our main force units at the right time and place in order to wipe out enemy forces, to training our army and developing our forces. Combat operations had to be combined with civilian proselyting and military proselyting and the armed struggle had to be combined with the political struggle and the diplomatic struggle. Unwavering strategy had to be closely tied to flexible tactics. Under the very close guidance of President Ho and our Party Central Committee, our armed forces and people applied these principles in a very creative manner and achieved very large results.

President Ho Chi Minh was both a great thinker and a practical, highly experienced activist who was always close to the people, who learned from the people in order to lead them. In the revolutionary struggle, in general, and the military struggle, in particular, the clearheadedness of President Ho and his skill in the art of war were clearly seen in his success in meeting the fundamental requirements of the revolution under exceedingly difficult and complex circumstances and in each specific situation. Possessing foresight and breadth of vision, he knew precisely what the fatal weaknesses of the enemy were and exploited those weaknesses to the fullest in order to prevent the enemy from gaining strength. With unshakeable confidence in the enormous strength of the people, he introduced revolutionary thinking to the masses and set requirements that were consistent with the level of knowledge and the actual circumstances under which the masses lived in order to truly tap and develop this enormous strength, turning it into extraordinary revolutionary actions that brought victory over the enemy.

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5. Ibid., p 437.
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7. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang va luc luong vu trang nhan dan"[On Armed Struggle and the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 268.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 426.

9. Ho Chi Minh: Ve dau tranh vu trang va luc luong vu trang nhan dan"...  
p 229.

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## PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH AND THE PEOPLE'S PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 81-85

[Article by Le Quang Thanh]

[Text] This year, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces celebrate the 40th anniversary of their establishment. During the past 40 years, the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces have recorded large achievements in the struggle to maintain national security and maintain social order and safety. These achievements have been largely the result of the clear-sighted and skillful leadership provided by the party and President Ho Chi Minh.

The growth of the People's Public Security Forces from their predecessors, the Red self-defense units during the years of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets, the worker-peasant self-defense units and the counter-intelligence units and Viet Minh honor units that existed during the period spent preparing for the August 1945 general uprising, to the fully developed, powerful forces that they are today has been closely associated with the name and career of President Ho Chi Minh, with his thinking concerning the People's Public Security Forces.

President Ho's thinking concerning the People's Public Security Forces comprises a large, rich and extremely detailed body of knowledge, one that encompasses many areas: the position and role of the People's Public Security Forces; the building of the People's Public Security Forces; the relationship between the public security forces and the people; the party's leadership of the People's Public Security Forces; the building of the mass movement to maintain national security and maintain social order and safety; the performance of security work, the management of social order and safety, etc. We celebrate this anniversary with an initial understanding of some of the basic thinking of President Ho concerning the People's Public Security Forces.

During the very first years following the successful August Revolution, President Ho clearly defined the character of the People's Public Security Forces: "Our public security forces are people's public security forces. They serve the people and rely upon their people in their work."<sup>(1)</sup> To illustrate this character, he compared our public security forces to those of the imperialists: "People's public security forces are totally different from imperialist public security forces. The public security forces of the imperialists are the talons and claws used by the imperialists to intimidate

and oppress the majority of the people. They are thugs... People's public security forces must truly serve the people." Later, he added: "All those who work in government, in the public security sector or in the army, are the servants of the people because a democratic government means a government of which the people are the masters." (2) These views stemmed from the basic thinking he elaborated as soon as the revolutionary government was established: "All agencies of the government from the national to the village levels, are the servants of the people." (3) This thinking gave our people a clear understanding of the character of the revolutionary government and removed from their minds the old attitudes they held toward the government and public security forces. At the same time, it defined what the highest responsibility of the agencies of government, including the people's public security sector, is. This teaching of President Ho is as timely today as it was back then in view of the fact that some of our cadres and soldiers are still not fulfilling their duty as the servants of the people, are still authoritarian, arrogant and insolent toward the people and have even violated their person and property.

President Ho summarized his 12 recommendations to cadres in a few lines of poetry:

With good armed forces and good people  
Success can be achieved in everything.

Only a tree that stands upon deep roots lives for many years,  
The palace of victory must be built with the people as its foundation. (4)

This foundation that is the "people" is also the foundation of the People's Public Security Forces, of the entire struggle to maintain national security and maintain social order and safety. Uncle Ho was the first person to state that the working people are the decisive force in the struggle against the counter-revolution and other crimes, that the working people are the source of the invincible strength of the public security forces. He said: "When the assistance we receive from the people is large, so, too, are our successes. When the assistance we receive from the people is minimal, so, too, are our successes. When the assistance we receive from the people is total, so, too, are our victories." (5) He frequently reminded the public security forces: "You must follow the mass line in order for the people to trust you, to assist the public security sector and in order for the public security sector to achieve success... You must have a thorough understanding of the party's policies and follow the mass line... If we win the hearts of the people, we have nothing to fear. If we do not have their support, we will not be able to perform our work well." (6) He educated the public security forces in the forms and methods of mass agitation employed in the struggle to maintain security and safeguard social order and safety. "Through the mass organizations, we must educate the people and organize their participation in the work of guarding against and weeding out spies so that the people provide public security forces with effective assistance." "We must truly assist the people in this work and simply sit on the sidelines issuing instructions to them;" "if we concern ourselves with the living conditions of the masses, the masses will follow us." (7) He also harshly criticized those who had an exaggerated opinion of themselves, were remote from the masses or undertook a

job without first conducting an investigation or doing research. "The work performed must be thorough and practical. You must conduct your work on the basis of investigations and research and not hold an exaggerated opinion of yourselves... All authoritarianism, bureaucracy and arrogance must be thoroughly eliminated and very good relations must be established between public security forces and the people."(8)

In the thinking of President Ho, the character of the People's Public Security Forces is also expressed in the relationship between them and the people: "You must welcome the people's criticism of public security forces as something that will bring you their understanding, love and assistance;" "you must encourage citizens to criticize public security forces."(9) He stressed the following with regard to giving the people a truly clear understanding of their role in public security work: "Of utmost importance is the need to educate and propagandize the people so that we can manage what they hear, what they see and what they say well, so that they assist public security forces in discovering the enemy, tell us what they know about the enemy and conceal from the enemy what they know about us. They must tell the enemies lies and tell us the truth. They must use their eyes, and their ears as well, to find the enemy."(10)

Not only in his thinking, but in his specific actions as well, President Ho constantly concerned himself with instilling in public security forces the view of serving of the people. The following is a typical example of what he did: in 1956, the Ministry of Public Security presented Uncle Ho with the draft of "Several Regulations Regarding Public Security Stations." The preface to the regulations stated: "To strengthen the maintenance of social order, maintain public safety, protect public property and protect the life and property of the people, the duties and authority of public security stations are hereby defined as follows..." Uncle Ho revised the preface to read: "The public security forces are public security forces of the people and must wholeheartedly serve the people; therefore, all public security personnel must fully comply with the following regulations..."

Studying President Ho's basic thoughts concerning the popular nature of the public security forces, we see very clearly that serving the people is the highest objective, the highest responsibility of public security forces. The people are the decisive force in the work of building the public security forces and in the fight that they wage, are their source of invincible strength. Relying upon the people is the policy and a very basic measure in the work of the public security forces. In the thinking of President Ho, the popular character of the public security forces and their class and revolutionary character coalesce as one. He pointed out: "The revolutionary public security forces are an effective weapon of the proletarian dictatorship," "are the arm...of the party...of the proletarian dictatorship."(11) It is this class character--this first character, in the words of Lenin--that established the popular character, the revolutionary character of our public security forces.

As Uncle Ho pointed out on numerous occasions, the matters of most decisive significance in the work and organization of the People's Public Security Forces are close leadership of public security forces by the party and



unquestioned loyalty to the party on the part of the People's Public Security Forces. In the 1950's, President Ho set forth the main requirements involved in the party's leadership of the People's Public Security Forces. That the party leads the public security forces is a principle, is an absolute requirement. He pointed out: "Only when the party provides correct political leadership can work within the special fields be performed correctly. From top to bottom, the armed People's Public Security Forces and the army alike must obey the leadership of the party. It absolutely must be this way." (12) This leadership is expressed first in the correct political line adopted by the party regarding the revolution as a whole and the struggle to maintain national security and social order and safety during each period. The party makes known the schemes and character of the enemy, points out who it is that we must establish dictatorship over and decides the positions and policies regarding the struggle against the counter-revolution and other crimes; at the same time, it defines the political tasks of the public security forces in the various stages of the revolution. President Ho required that "public security work be closely tied to the political line of the party." "To complete their tasks, public security forces must have a full understanding of the line and policies of the party and government." "Not only must you have a thorough understanding of the policies of the party and follow the mass line, but you must also give all public security cadres and police a thorough understanding of party policies." (13) This is the foremost requirement in insuring the unquestioned loyalty of the People's Public Security Forces to the party.

The party's leadership of public security forces cannot be vague or general in nature. The various party committee echelons must truly assist and closely lead these forces. This leadership encompasses all aspects of politics, thinking, organization, work methods and procedures...and is leadership that is provided by the entire party committee, not just by one of its members. The various party committee echelons must take positive steps to create every condition needed for public security forces to achieve their full political and moral strength, their full material strength so that they can fulfill their functions and tasks well. To insure proper leadership of public security work, President Ho also required that "local leaders also study and gain an understanding of the specialized fields of work so that they can resolve problems effectively." (14) The People's Public Security Forces themselves must attach very much importance to building party organizations and party chapters and attach importance to building the Youth Union.

At the very outset, President Ho Chi Minh defined the strategically important role and position of public security work in defending the fatherland: "There are times of war and times of peace. In war time, the army fights the enemy. In peace time, it trains. But public security forces must fight the enemy constantly. They have much to do in time of war and even more to do in time of peace. Because, as long as there are imperialists, as long as there are exploiting classes, there will be saboteurs." (15) In each stage of the revolution, President Ho and our party gave the public security forces political tasks and guidelines that enabled them to fulfill their role as the effective tool of the party and state. President Ho required that the public security sector be one step ahead of all sectors of the economy in its operating plans: "The public security sector must operate under a plan. It cannot lag behind industry, agriculture, commerce and communications-

transportation. It is best that the public security sector be one step ahead."(16)

However, regardless of how strong public security forces might be and even if they are this one step ahead, they are only the central force in the struggle waged by all the people to maintain national security and social order and safety. Whereas, in the resistance for national salvation, President Ho appealed for "all the people to fight the enemy, the entire country to fight the enemy," in the struggle to maintain security and social order and safety, he also demanded full compliance with this thinking concerning participation by all the people. This strategy was advanced by President Ho during the very first years of the resistance against the French colonialists: "How many persons does the public security sector have? Be it several thousand or 50,000 to 70,000, its forces are still very small compared to the forces of the people. Fifty thousand persons are only 50,000 pairs of eyes, 50,000 pairs of hands. To perform its job correctly, the sector must provide itself with tens of millions of pairs of hands, with tens of millions of pairs of eyes and ears."(17) Therefore, it is important that we build the public security forces and truly make them the central force in this work; on the other hand, we must mobilize large numbers of the people, gain their active participation and bring a tremendous combined strength to the cause of maintaining security and maintaining social order and safety. Unity within the public security forces is a matter of foremost importance. President Ho pointed out: "Within the public security sector, from its highest level to its personnel, there must be unity and consensus...democracy must be practiced and unity must be achieved through constant self-criticism."(18) It can be said that, in his speeches and letters to the People's Public Security Forces, President Ho never forgot to remind them of the need to constantly maintain strong internal unity. If there are not true unity and consensus within the People's Public Security Forces how can they unite with the people, unite with the other sectors for the purpose of bringing a combined strength to this struggle? President Ho fully concerned himself with building unity between the public security forces and the people, the other sectors and the mass organizations within the proletarian dictatorship system. He especially stressed the need for close unity between the army and the public security forces, the two "twins" of the revolution. He said: "The public security forces and the army are the two arms of the people, the party, the government and the proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, it is even more necessary that they be closely united, that they help each other and make every effort to develop upon strengths and rectify incorrect thinking," such as the thinking that "public security forces need not be truly united with the army and the other sectors."(19)

In the thinking of President Ho, the combined strength brought to this struggle also includes the strength resulting from close cooperation between the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces and the public security forces of the socialist countries. He reminded the public security forces of Vietnam and those of the socialist countries of the need to learn from one another's experiences but apply what they learn from one another creatively. Learning and creative application go hand in hand. This was also part of the proletarian internationalism that he taught to our People's Public Security Forces.

President Ho Chi Minh's thinking concerning the People's Public Security Forces is lighting the way for our party, our armed forces and our people in the cause of building the Vietnam People's Public Security Forces, in the struggle to maintain national security and social order and safety.

Today, in the face of the new requirements of the struggle to maintain national security and social order and safety, the People's Public Security Forces, together with the entire party and all the people, must gain a better understanding of and implement even better the thinking of President Ho concerning the People's Public Security Forces and the directives and resolutions of the party that pertain to this field of struggle. By following the teachings of President Ho, the People's Public Security Forces will surely overcome each difficulty, win even larger victories and contribute to the successful construction of socialism and the firm defense of our beloved Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh voi nganh cong an nhan dan Viet nam"[President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam People's Public Security Sector], published by the Institute of Public Security Scientific Research, Hanoi, 1980, p 75.
2. Ibid., p 9.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 376.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang va luc luong vu trang nhan dan"[On Armed Struggle and the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 210.
5. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh voi nganh cong an nhan dan Viet nam"..., p 11.
6. Ibid., pp 25, 36 and 63.
7. Ibid., pp 7, 10 and 63.
8. Ibid., pp 24 and 70.
9. Ibid., pp 8 and 11.
10. Ibid., p 61.
11. Ibid., pp 45 and 27.
12. Ibid., p 28.
13. Ibid., pp 61, 21 and 36.
14. Ibid., p 28.

15. Ibid., p 19.

16. Ibid., p 22.

17. Ibid., p 19.

18. Ibid., p 11.

19. Ibid., pp 27 and 11.

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ON THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF 'FRENCH COLONIALIZATION ON TRIAL': THE STRENGTH OF THE 'INDICTMENT' AND THE IMAGE OF THE 'INDICTED'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 86-90

[Article by Phong Le]

[Text] In the early stage of his search for the path to national salvation, the weapon that was the "voice" of Nguyen Ai Quoc was always effective and squarely aimed at the targets of awakening and enlightening others: awakening the people in the West to the fact that they were being lied to, being kept from the truth and enlightening the colonial world that was being held in an abyss of ignorance and darkness.

So it was in the mid-1920's that, along with his poetry, a new voice arose from Nguyen Ai Quoc. A new voice in national literature and also a new voice in the literature of mankind, it helped to lay the foundation of socialist realist literature as a product of our times.

The Indictment

The dissimilarity between the two worlds (the world of the "civilizers" and administrators and the world of the "colonial peoples"), a dissimilarity that was exceedingly irrational and unjust, this was the realization that had to be made clear to not only the natives, but even to the mother country and the public in the West. Because, due to the fact that the situation was being covered up and distorted by the colonial administration and the fact that it was a situation that existed thousands of miles away, the working class, laboring people and even decent persons and persons of good will within the upper strata of Western society found it difficult or impossible to learn the truth.

In July 1924, in Moscow, Nguyen Ai Quoc delivered a speech in which he criticized the communist parties of the mother countries for giving so little attention to the colonial issue. Among the causes of that regrettable state of affairs, in addition to the "vast amount of area covered by the colonies," "the ignorance of the natives" and their "brutal suppression" by the colonial administration, there were also "prejudices" caused by the fact that "the proletarian parties at either end did not understand each other" and "the indifference of the proletariat in the mother country toward the colonies."

"Regrettably, a majority of militants still think that a colony is nothing more than a region of sunshine and sand, a few coconut trees and some persons whose skin is a different color."(1) That report made such a strong impression that Francois Bioux, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France, later recalled (in the summer of 1924, he attended the International Congress of Communist Youth in Moscow as the delegate from France): "At the Congress of the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc delivered his famous speech in which he criticized some points in the policy of that time as still being colonialist in outlook. He spoke in sincere and stern words, his sole purpose being to further develop the militant solidarity between the French and Vietnamese peoples in the face of the common enemy: French imperialism."(2)

Not only proletarians, but communist militants as well had to undergo a process of investigation and research to gain an understanding of the full facts of the issue. Nguyen Ai Quoc's activities made an important contribution to this process of enlightenment. Jacques Duyclot recounted: "I suddenly recalled that during visits to my home town in the Tarbes region near the Pyrenees, I had seen many Vietnamese working in the local munitions plant. They were being held in a camp and being poorly treated. I wanted to know the status of those Vietnamese and asked Nguyen Ai Quoc why they had been sent to France to work. He began telling me about the situation in his country and the evil actions of the French colonialists who were ruling his people.

What he said was all quite new to me. Because, in France at that time, the colonial policy was being presented as the exportation of civilization to backward countries. Through my acquaintanceship with Nguyen, I came to see the truth about French colonialism."(3) Another leader of the Communist Party of France, Paul Vaillant Couturier--as told later by his wife--also maintained: "His acquaintanceship with Nguyen Ai Quoc proved very useful to Paul Vaillant throughout his life in helping him to gain a better grasp of the issue of struggling against colonialism."(4)

This is not to mention a number of other revolutionary militants or persons of good will, such as Jean Longuet, the grandchild of Marx, and Professor Gabriel Savy, who represented the Society of Human and Civic Rights."(5)

It was necessary to tell the full truth about colonialism in the colonies in order to correct the misconceptions that existed and awaken those who were still in the dark.

To achieve these objectives, a person had to be driven by zeal and passion. Words had to come from the heart. But such was not enough. The "truth" about the colonies was not the "things being seen" in the mother country at that time. Thus, what was needed was proof that carried with it the convincing force of science and imagery. What was needed were facts drawn from the press, from books and even from the writings of Europeans themselves. Moreover, these facts had to be facts that the colonialists themselves acknowledged.

Therein lay the value of "French Colonialization on Trial." It was a work of scientific value supported by arguments that could not be refuted.

To prove the "prosperity" of Indochina under the administration of Governor-General Maurice Long, the author quoted a letter from Colonel Bernard to REPUBLIC OF FRANCE Newspaper, which was published in its 6 December 1922 issue, and added the reminder: "This colonel is certainly no communist."(6)

The years and months that he spent engrossed in work at the National Library (which was also the style of Marx and Lenin) following the press and current events, keeping abreast of the political and social situations...helped Nguyen Ai Quoc put together a full dossier of materials to use as evidence in convicting colonialism. And, it was in these materials, in these acknowledgements and admissions by Bernard, Du Pouvoirville, Vigne d'Octon, E. Ma-cac [Vietnamese phonetics] and even Governor-General Doumer, that the convincing force of "French Colonialization on Trial" lay.

But, do not think that these materials, these figures, quotations and excerpts were dry. They were materials that possessed a soul. They were the figures of poetry. They were quotations that were moving and thought provoking.

They told about the blood tax: "All together, some 700,000 natives have come to France and, of this number, 80,000 will never see the sun rise over their country again."(8)

They told about the press: "I know many writers who have been sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor for reading TRUNG QUOC HON Journal, AN BANG Journal and articles of the same type by Chinese modernist writers. In 1920, many Vietnamese in Tonkin were sentenced to 2 to 5 years in prison simply because one had composed a poem in praise of liberty and the others made the mistake of listening to it."(9)

They told about justice: "Justice is represented by a good lady holding scales in one hand and a sword in the other. The distance between France and Indochina is great, so great that, by the time they arrive there, the scales lose their balance and the pans melt and turn into opium pipes and official bottles of spirits, so, the poor lady has only the sword left with which to strike. She strikes even at the innocent, especially the innocent..."(10)

In this way, every antagonism, every point of conflict was revealed. A conflict, as sharp as the conflict between water and fire, not only existed in the colonies, between the masters and their slaves. This conflict also existed within the mother country, within France. This realization, which shed light on the truth of our times embodied in the scientific analysis rendered by Marx and Lenin, was voiced by Nguyen Ai Quoc, through incisive intellect and passionate feelings, in a short story entitled "Paris" written in 1922. Paris, only a corner of the earth, encompassed both worlds:

Asia and Europe know in their hearts  
It is yellow that keeps wealth and poverty apart.(11)

## The Indicted

From his first polemics and essays published in LE PARIA and a number of other articles subsequently published in other newspapers that were compiled in his first book, "French Colonialization on Trial," the image of the author emerged--the just and clear-sighted presiding judge of the court of history.

Although the author's "qualifications" were not something about which he wanted to boast, this "personality" was still on the scene following the publication of "French Colonialization on Trial" with its intensely passionate and thought-provoking style. And this truly was a source of concern and terrible fear to the colonialist administration. Later, when materials sufficient enough to reconstruct the entire situation became available, we would see, and be greatly moved and inspired by what we learned, that Uncle Ho was not alone in being pursued and hunted by the colonialists. And, "luckily" for them, there were still weaknesses in the bourgeois democracy in the mother country that allowed colonial revolutionaries like Uncle Ho to hide, travel and earn a living... In summary, there was just enough freedom to conduct activities, to meet with friends and comrades, to make contact with fellow countrymen. Although we mention this freedom, it must not be forgotten that Uncle Ho was constantly being investigated and pursued. He was constantly being watched and followed by a surveillance unit, the monthly salary of which cost the administration of the mother country 25,000 francs.

From all these strange and precious historical details, we see him emerge as the presiding judge of the court of history, despite the fact that he was still being hunted, despite the fact that his fate was still that of a slave.

History would add to this inspiring stature a few more "mystical" qualities thorough the conversation between the frail youth Nguyen Ai Quoc and the stately, powerful Minister of Colonies Albert Sarraut that took place in his secluded office.(12)

And the enemy, although ruthless and deranged, was not without some ability to look ahead. History brought truth to the prediction made by Police Inspector Arnoux in 1919, who subsequently became commissioner of police in Indochina, to a colleague of his at the Ministry of Colonies: "That frail and energetic youth might just become the person who raises the cross signalling the end of our rule in Indochina."(13)

What then followed was a quiet surveillance campaign and the establishment of a well coordinated organization to block the literary efforts of this "rebel." An entire apparatus consisting of many traps set to spring, an apparatus that extended from the west to east, from the mother country to the colonies, was set up to deal with an adversary who was only a youth, less than 30 years of age, who had to work for his living and learn a trade while trying to increase his knowledge, study, think and participate in social activities.

However, with the pages of LE PARIA and "French Colonialization on Trial" a lopsided fight started between the author and the entire system. It was a fight that was begun in the 1920's and lasted for more than 20 years, a fight



that led to an entire nation becoming revolutionaries and to the collapse of one of the strongholds of international reaction.

Because, behind those lines, those thin pages was the gradual awakening of an entire people, was a growing link among the poor, the slaves of many different races, a link between East and West, between the "backward" and the "civilized," a link that was a direct consequence of internationalism and, at the same time, a product of the world proletarian revolutionary movement, a link that was given direction and predicted in the "Communist Manifesto" and Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions."

Through "French Colonialization on Trial," its author, the representative of a people who were being maltreated, wrote from the forum of mankind because his realization of the class character and international significance of the new struggle, of which his nation was an integral part, made it impossible and impermissible for him to stand alone, stand on the sidelines.

It was a link that shattered the prejudices and illusions that had long beset history, from the old fashioned ignorance of the closed door policy of the "royal dynasties" to racist bourgeois concepts or, at times, the opposite extreme, feelings of inferiority and pessimism before the icon of imperialism and western civilization. One had to adopt the Marxist-Leninist world view to see things in balance, to see things as they really were and understand the path that had to be taken to rectify the situation. It was the path of the strength of the nation reinforced by solidarity with the proletariat in the mother country and the oppressed peoples--that is, the awakening to the class character and international character of the fight, in other words, the combined strength of our times.

From this new perspective, we see that the stern judge of colonialism would also turn out to be a man who felt boundless love for suffering mankind. And it was this that was the fundamental feature of the qualities and style of Nguyen Ai Quoc as seen through the eyes of contemporaries who worked and conducted activities with him, who came into contact with him. In the 1920's, it was seen in the impressions voiced by the lawyer Mac Clanh-vin Blong-cua [Vietnamese phonetics]: "Within him, the significance of the struggle for national liberation was always deeply ingrained in his heart and mind and pervaded his entire life. Once, when learning that the French colonialists had terrorized and massacred people in Dahomey, I saw him become as outraged, upset and hurt as if it had happened to his own people, the Vietnamese."(14) One-half century later, it was seen in the observation made by the Cuban poet Felix Pita Rodriguez: "In the works of President Ho Chi Minh, the peasant in Vietnam, in Algeria, in Tunisia, in the Congo and the oppressed people in the Antigua Archipelago and the 'antiquated South' of the United States have someone sincere standing up for them."(15)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 9.

2. "Bac Ho o Phap"[Uncle Ho in France], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 42.
3. Ibid., p 25.
4. Ibid., p 77.
5. Hong Ha: "Thoi thanh nien cua Bac Ho"[Uncle Ho's Youth], Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, pp 86, 87.
6. "Tong tap van hoc Viet nam"[Anthology of Vietnamese Literature], Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 36. p 146.
7. Ibid., p 185.
8. Ibid., p 324.
9. Ibid., p 231.
10. Ibid., p 395.
11. To Huu: "Theo chan Bac"[In the Footsteps of Uncle Ho].
12. Hong Ha: "Uncle Ho's Youth," pp 134-135.
13. Ibid., p 81.
14. "Uncle Ho in France," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp 49-50.
15. "Nghien cuu, hoc tap tho van Ho Chi Minh"[Researching and Studying the Poetry and Prose of Ho Chi Minh], Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi Publishing House, 1979, p 583.

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## IMPROVING THE ON-THE-JOB EDUCATION OF CADRES AND PARTY MEMBERS IN THEORY AND POLITICS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 91-96

[Article by Le Hung Tam]

[Text] Teaching Marxist-Leninist theory and the lines and policies of the party to cadres and party members is always the foremost concern of our party because it is a task of fundamental importance in improving the party's ability to lead, in building its fighting strength, in heightening the vanguard nature of cadres and party members and improving their ability to conduct practical activities. The Political Report at the party's 5th National Congress pointed out: "It is necessary to expand and improve the quality of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism with a view toward gradually instilling the scientific world view and revolutionary philosophy of life in our cadres, party members and people and providing them with systematic knowledge concerning the latest achievements recorded in the theoretical work of our party and the fraternal parties so that they actively and effectively participate in the formulation and creative application of the party's line."(1)

To provide cadres and party members with a basic education in theory and politics, we have established a system of formal party schools to train key leadership and management cadres for the various levels and sectors and a system of on-the-job instruction in theory and politics to train the large number of remaining cadres and party members, including cadres who are not party members.

The matter of organizing on-the-job training for cadres and party members was first raised by the party long ago. In 1957, rather thoroughly organized campaigns to study the theory pertaining to the period of transition to socialism were conducted. In 1962, in conjunction with organizing the study of the major resolutions of the Party Central Committee, the study of basic theory was begun with the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economics.

The steady development of the socialist revolution has demanded that our cadres and party members acquire new knowledge and skills. Therefore, gaining a systematic understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and a thorough

understanding of the lines and policies of the party and state through study have become increasingly urgent requirements. To meet the learning requirements of cadres and party members, our Party Central Committee has issued numerous directives and resolutions on the study of theory and politics. Party Secretariat Resolution 210 NQ/TU dated 29 December 1970 confirmed that on-the-job study is the main form of study for cadres and party members and established a four level program in theory (basic level, elementary level, middle level and high level) for both the formal and on-the-job training systems. This was followed by the resolution of the 23rd Plenum of the 3rd Party Central Committee, which developed the four level program in theory into specific targets and standards on the political level of cadres and party members. Both the resolution of the 4th Party Congress (1976) and Party Secretariat Resolution 36 NQ/TU (1981) emphasized the need to strengthen the system of formal party schools and expand the system of on-the-job schools and classes in theory and politics. The study of theory and politics became a need of cadres and party members, a need that could only be quickly met through on-the-job training. Prior to the complete liberation of the South, as many as 50,000 cadres attended on-the-job classes in theory in the provinces of the North in one year alone. Many provinces virtually completed the training of their party members under the basic level program. Since 1980, more than 100,000 cadres have been attending on-the-job classes in theory under the elementary level, middle level and high level programs nationwide each year. Several hundred thousand party members at the basic organizations have been studying under the program of education for new party members and the basic and elementary level programs nationwide each year. In particular, importance has been attached to organizing the on-the-job study of the resolutions of the party congresses. In 1977, as many as 1.3 million cadres and party members participated in seminars to study the resolution of the 4th Party Congress. In 1983, in only 25 provinces and municipalities, some 100,000 cadres from the district level upward participated in seminars to study the resolution of the 5th Congress. This did not include the many basic organizations of the party in the countryside and at enterprises that completed the holding of seminars to study the resolution of the 5th Congress.

The on-the-job study of theory and politics has helped cadres and party members improve their understanding and their ability to apply and organize the implementation of the lines and policies of the party and state. The seminars in the resolution in the 5th Congress resulted in a higher level of consensus within the party and the state apparatus concerning the revolution's situation and the line of the party and goals of the revolution in the present stage, thereby helping to stabilize the thinking of cadres in the face of the complex economic and social developments in the present situation and giving them greater confidence in the ability of our country's revolution to develop.

In recent years, we have learned a number of useful lessons from on-the-job instruction in theory and politics, such as the following:

First, on-the-job study is the best way to quickly teach Marxist-Leninist theory and the lines and views of the party to large numbers of cadres, party members and state personnel. On-the-job study affords many advantages. Many students can be mobilized for training sessions. In 1983, the Hanoi On-the-Job Party School had an enrollment in excess of 6,000 students. Through on-

the-job instruction many localities have quickly helped many cadres meet theoretical and political standards. In Thai Binh and Nghe Tinh Provinces, roughly 80 percent of cadres have met the theoretical standards of the middle level program as a result of on-the-job study. On the other hand, on-the-job study is less costly. From the standpoint of the student, on-the-job study does not significantly influence his or her personal life or family life, consequently, many persons can participate in it.

Secondly, in order for on-the-job instruction in theory and politics to develop well, it is necessary, in conjunction with developing suitable programs and subject matter, that we have on-the-job schools and classes which are equipped with the necessary material base and training aids and are under the constant guidance of the party committee.

Those places at which the on-the-job study movement has developed well, such as Thai Binh, Nghe Tinh, Hanoi, Hai Hung, Ha Bac, Quang Ninh, Vinh Phu, Hau Giang, Ha Son Binh and so forth, are places where the on-the-job schools in theory and politics operate well. A number of other places, such as Ho Chi Minh City, Thanh Hoa, Binh Tri Thien and so forth, although they do not have separate schools for this training, have also been able to develop the on-the-job study movement well as a result of on-the-job study being given appropriate attention by the party committee and being guided by competent, zealous cadres.

Thirdly, the forms of on-the-job instruction must be flexible, diverse and well suited to the characteristics of the various types of students. At the same time, on-the-job instruction must be well organized to insure the quality of instruction and self-study. The basic characteristic of on-the-job students is that they continue to work at their jobs while studying. The number of on-the-job students is very large and their levels of education, duties, occupations, practical knowledge and so forth vary very widely. Therefore, the forms and methods of on-the-job instruction must be flexible and diverse in order to attract students and maintain classes. Although this instruction can be flexibly arranged, it still must be organized and discipline. At present, the most common forms of on-the-job study are: short-term, monthly or quarterly classes, informational classes and evening classes.

Fourthly, it is necessary to build a corps of specialized instructors and part-time instructors, a corps of sufficient quality and adequate size. Instructors must not only be able to teach principles and theory, teach the thinking and views of the party in a scientific manner, but must also guide students in applying what they learn and studying on their own well.

The instructors that teach theory and politics on-the-job are mainly non-specialized instructors. Only by gaining the participation of many competent cadres, especially leadership cadres and management cadre, in instruction is it possible to improve the quality of this education. However, to insure the quality of education, it is necessary for schools to have specialized instructors for about one-third of their program. This force, in addition to providing instruction, also has the task of organizing, guiding and managing

studies. These two tasks support each other and result in an effective education being provided.

Fifthly, the evaluation of the results of on-the-job instruction in theory and politics must first be based on the quality and effectiveness of education, not simply on the scale of training or the number of students trained. Quality and effectiveness are the combined results of many factors within the educational process: the program, training materials, lesson texts, methods of teaching and learning, material conditions and so forth, the most important of which are instruction and self-study. Only when the quality of education is high is it possible to develop on the job instruction, possible to attract many students. Education that is effective not only provides the student with new knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and the line of the party, but also helps to cultivate and develop within the student the scientific world view of Marxism-Leninism, raises his confidence, develops his revolutionary will and, more importantly, helps the student acquire the ability to apply the knowledge he learns in his day to day work and complete assigned tasks well.

Although a number of good results have been achieved in the teaching of theory and politics on-the-job to cadres and party members in recent years, there are still many problems that must be resolved in order to expand and improve the quality of this effort. The development of this training movement is not uniform. In many mountain provinces and in some other localities, the movement is still at a low level of development. At many worksites, state farms, forestry sites, communications-transportation units and distribution-circulation units, training is not conducted on a regular basis. On the other hand, the system of training programs as well as textbooks have been improved slowly and do not meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks of the revolution. Methods of instruction have only been improved slightly. Many places give light attention to self-study by students, which includes reading materials, team debates, remedial study, etc. There is still a very large shortage of instructors and current instructors are not receiving regular advanced training. As a result, the quality of education has been affected. Material bases and instructional aids are still in short supply and outmoded. We still lack policies designed to support and encourage instruction and learning. From the standpoint of students, besides the many who study conscientiously, there are still more than a few who study in a "form for form's sake" manner and are only interested in receiving their certificate certifying that they meet all cadre standards. From the standpoint of leadership and guidance, some party committees do not yet have a correct understanding of the importance and effect of the teaching of theory and politics on the job and have, as a result, given light attention to this work.

On 8 December 1983, on the basis of the results and the experience gained in the teaching of theory and politics on the job over the past several decades, the Party Secretariat issued Decision Number 30QD/TU on intensifying the teaching of theory and politics on the job to cadres and party members. The Secretariat's decision confirmed the results and progress that had been recorded, confirmed the position and impact of the on-the-job teaching of theory and politics within the full scope of the party's ideological work and clearly defined the objectives of this instruction, the persons for whom it is intended and the programs and major organizational measures involved in it.

With regard to the objectives of the on-the-job teaching of theory and politics, the decision of the secretariat states: "It is necessary to provide the mass of cadres and party members with additional training in Marxism-Leninism, in the lines of our party and state with the aim of equipping them with the world view, scientific methodology and philosophy of life of communism and improving the ability of cadres and party members to conduct practical activities."

Developing in cadres the communist world view and scientific methodology is a fundamental task in the ideological work of the communist party. Each cadre and party members must systematically study Marxist-Leninist theory as it relates to the lines and policies of the party, to the realities of society. In the final analysis, all of the programs in the study of theory and politics are designed to develop within the student the world view, the scientific methodology and the philosophy of life of communism, to give the student a thorough understanding of the lines and policies of the party and improve the student's ability to apply them in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

Meeting the above mentioned educational objectives is also of practical significance in helping the cadre meet the standards regarding theory and politics set by the party and state.

The teaching of theory and politics on the job also contributes to the training of leadership and management cadres for the various levels because large number of cadres studying provides the conditions for selecting cadres for training.

With regard to the persons for whom instruction on the job is intended, the system of party schools is responsible for training key leadership and management cadres for the various levels and sectors (some party schools also have a different task, such as training theoretical research cadres, instructors and so forth). The system of on-the-job schools and classes in theory and politics serves a very large number of persons, all the remaining cadres (including cadres outside the party), the party members at basic units and state personnel. During sessions held to study the lines and policies of the party (especially those held to study the resolutions of the party congresses and the major resolutions of the Party Central Committee), even the majority of leadership cadres attend on-the-job classes.

A distinction must be made between the system of on-the-job training within the party school system (from the provincial level upward) and the system of on-the-job schools and classes in theory and politics. The formal party schools hold on-the-job classes to provide advanced training to some key leadership and management cadres who are unable to attend formal training. These classes are conducted under the same program as the formal classes. The system of on-the-job schools and classes conducts general programs for the vast majority of cadres and party members. These programs have been abbreviated in some respects to suit the characteristics of on the job study; however, they still contain an equivalent amount of knowledge on theory as the classes conducted within the system of party schools.

With regard to subject matter and programs of study, Secretariat Decision 30 QD/TU states: "The subject matter in theory and politics taught at these schools and classes encompasses the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the lines and policies of the party and state, knowledge pertaining to economic management, state management, etc.

The programs in theory and politics are of two types:

--The general program in theory and politics, which consists of general knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental issues regarding the lines and policies of the party and state.

--The program in basic theory, which encompasses the basic principles of philosophy, political economics and scientific communism, the history of the party and party building."

In accordance with Decision 30QD/TU, the four level system of programs (basic, elementary, middle and high levels) will henceforth be replaced by instruction in theory and politics under the two programs mentioned above.

The program in general theory and politics is based on changes and improvements to the current elementary level program. The program in basic theory is based on improvements and additions to the middle level program in theory. Cadres are assigned to one or the other of these programs on the basis of their knowledge and the requirements of their work. Of course, on-the-job study is not restricted to only the two programs mentioned above, but also includes a program of advanced training in the lines and policies of the party and state, a program in economic management and state management and a program designed to improve the command of theory in special subjects among students who have completed the study of basic theory.

At present, the research and formulation of programs and the compilation of new textbooks, which are urgent requirements, are being promoted by the Department of Propaganda and Training of the Party Central Committee. These are scientific research projects that require time. While waiting for the adoption of new programs, on-the-job study will continue under the middle level and high level programs but the contents of these programs will be improved and amended. There must be full adherence to the principle of maintaining the coherent nature of programs and not modifying them in any way seen fit, abridging the contents of programs or dropping a subject in the name of "improvement" but actually only for the purpose of only reducing the program's length, as a result of which the program is unscientific and unsystematic and the quality of education is reduced.

How this training is organized is a matter of utmost importance. Without an appropriate organizational system and policies, the teaching of theory and politics on the job cannot achieve the established objectives. The most distinctive characteristic of on-the-job study is that students continue to work at their jobs while studying. Consequently, the ways in which classes are organized must be flexible, diverse and well suited to each type student. However, on-the-job study must be highly organized and disciplined to insure that the requirements of instruction and learning are met. The decision of



the Secretariat deals with the matters of major importance regarding organization and accentuates the need for a system of on-the-job schools and classes. The decision states: "We must continue to build and strengthen the on-the-job schools in theory and politics of the provinces, municipalities and special zone. These schools are directly subordinate to the various party committee echelons." The experience of many years has shown that schools are necessary in order for study to be put on a regular basis and be highly organized. Schools must be directly subordinate to the various party committee echelons in order for all the conditions needed to guide and organize their apparatus and provide them with material bases and the necessary funding to exist. The schools must also have close ties with the propaganda and training sections and closely coordinate with the organization and financial-administrative management sections in order for the operations and the instruction they provide to develop steadily in accordance with general planning. In those provinces and municipalities that do not yet have schools, on-the-job classes must be opened (of which the propaganda and training section must be in charge) and full preparations must be made for quickly developing these classes into schools. In view of the present situation, the on-the-job school apparatus must be streamlined but effective. To accomplish this, it is first of all necessary to give attention to selecting management cadres and instructors who are well qualified, are able to provide guidance and instruction, possess organizational skills and possess an ardent love of their occupation.

Organizing and guiding cadres and party members at basic units, especially in the countryside and at enterprises, in the study of theory and politics are very important because they are the persons who directly engage in production, who directly introduce the thinking and policies of the party and state to the masses and keep abreast of the thinking of the masses in order to keep the party organization abreast of their thinking. According to the Secretariat's decision, organizing and guiding the cadres and party members at basic units in the study of theory and politics on-the-job are the constant tasks of the district, precinct and ward party committees.

The key factor in strengthening and improving the teaching of theory and politics on the job to cadres and party members is close leadership and guidance by the various party committee echelons. The organizing of this study is directly related to all sectors and levels. Without concrete leadership on the part of the party committee, of the unit's head, on-the-job study cannot be carried out on a regular basis and the effectiveness of education is low.

In guiding the implementation of the Secretariat's decision, it is necessary to put the teaching of theory and politics on the job on a regular basis, to expand and improve the quality of education. On the basis of insuring that the quality and effectiveness of education are maintained, plans must be adopted to gradually expand the on-the-job study movement in a stable manner. Efforts to guide on-the-job study must be comprehensive in nature, ranging from the planning of cadre training, the adoption of yearly plans on the

holding of classes, the building and strengthening of the system of schools and classes and the building of the corps of instructors to the successful implementation of policies designed to insure good instruction and good learning, the practice of quality control in education, etc.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 165-166.

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CSO: 4210/10

## CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY ON THE MOMENTUM OF DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 97-99

[Article by Yen Van]

[Text] A victim of the fascists before World War II officially broke out, Czechoslovakia was also the last country to escape their grip when the war ended. On 9 May 1945, following years and months of hard fighting and with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Red Army, the people of Czechoslovakia threw off the yoke of German fascist occupation, liberated the country, seized political power, restored national independence and brought Czechoslovakia into a new era: the era of socialist construction.

During the past 4 decades, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and with the close cooperation of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries within the socialist community, the people of Czechoslovakia have recorded large achievements in every field, achievements which include the building and development of a socialist economy.

During the initial period, from 1945 to 1968, many acute difficulties were encountered in economic construction and development in Czechoslovakia. In the war, more than 300,000 Czechoslovaks, including 25,000 communist party members, died, many factories and enterprises suffered heavy damage, the structure of industrial production was seriously altered and economic losses estimated at roughly 700 billion koronas were suffered. Following the war, although political power was in the hands of the people, foreign imperialists acting in collaboration with powers of the domestic bourgeoisie and reactionaries constantly looked for an opportunity to counter-attack. They caused incidents in 1948 and 1968 with the aim of restoring capitalism in Czechoslovakia. However, under the determined leadership of the communist party, the people of Czechoslovakia overcame each difficulty, won victory over each act of enemy sabotage and moved steadily forward. The successful completion of the 1946-1948 two year plan brought about a fundamental change in the structure and organization of production. The first 5-year plan (1950-1955), the target of which was to accelerate the process of industrialization, was exceeded, thereby quickly increasing the percentage of gross national income produced by industry from 56 percent in 1948 to 65 percent in 1955. The backward Slovakia region was quickly industrialized. The second 5-year plan (1956-1960), the aims of which were to complete the

socialist transformation of agriculture and establish the material-technical bases of socialism, was also implemented well. Industrial production rose by 66 percent between 1955 and 1960 and was four times higher than it was during the period preceding the war. Agriculture supplied an important portion of the people's grain and food. The value of agricultural output increased by 80 percent between 1955 and 1960.

Following the major challenge posed by the incident in 1968, Czechoslovakia, under the strengthened leadership of the communist party, entered a new period, a period that has been marked by increasingly brilliant victories. This can be considered the finest period of development ever in the history of Czechoslovakia. In 1971, the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set forth the general line on the building of developed socialism in Czechoslovakia. In 1976, the 15th Congress improved upon the line of the 14th Congress by setting guidelines and important tasks aimed at rapidly moving Czechoslovakia down the path of building developed socialism. In 1981, the 16th Congress of the Party established the task of continuing to carry out economic and social development by increasing production efficiency and improving the quality of labor in ways that yield high economic returns, strengthening labor discipline and quickly shifting the economy to intensive development, mainly on the basis of applying the latest achievements of science and technology and strengthening the economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the socialist countries, most importantly with the Soviet Union.

On the basis of its economic line, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has promptly and correctly resolved the problems faced in the various fields of production, most importantly in industry and agriculture.

In industry, Czechoslovakia's policy is to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, with importance attached to the machine manufacturing industry and the chemical industry. Machine manufacture is a long-standing industry in Czechoslovakia, is virtually a "traditional" sector. In the past, this sector focused on the production of steam engines of various types, tool making machines and equipment for the other industrial sectors. At present, more importance is being attached to the machine manufacturing sector with a view toward supplying the national economy with new production equipment and technology. The sector's mode of operation has been changed. No longer does it try to produce a wide variety of products. Within the framework of international cooperation and the international division of labor and in accordance with the plans of CEMA, the machine manufacturing sector of Czechoslovakia now concentrates on the production of a number of main products. As a result of concentrating the sector's forces, raw materials and experience on their production, these products have been held in increasingly high regard on the international market for their technology, aesthetic appeal and quality.

To a country that has a developed industry but does not have abundant sources of raw materials, such as Czechoslovakia, the vigorous development of the chemical industry is very necessary. In its developed toward modernization, the chemical industry in Czechoslovakia has opened new sectors producing synthetics.

Czechoslovakia has also attached importance to establishing a rational industrial structure and rapidly carrying out industrialization within the backward areas of the country in order to quickly establish economic balance among all areas of the country and, on this basis, stimulate the rapid development of the economy. The industrialization of Slovakia, which began under the first 5-year plan, has had a major impact in many fields. Through this effort, not only has the problem of balancing the country's economy, but also the national question within the economic field been resolved well, thereby laying the groundwork for steady economic and political progress.

In agriculture, after winning political power, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia carried out agrarian reform. Agricultural cooperativization was launched in 1949. The first cooperatives were small. Gradually, increasingly large cooperatives were established. By late 1980, agricultural production within Czechoslovakia had been concentrated in 1,779 cooperatives and 162 state farms.

Industry has had a positive impact upon agriculture through the scientific and technical advances that have been put into use. Importance has been attached to centralization, specialization and federation within agricultural production. Czechoslovakia now has large areas specializing in the production of wheat, sugar beets, potatoes and so forth, areas within which all harvesting is done by machine. Prior to World War II, Czechoslovakia had only several thousand tractors. Today, it has roughly 200,000. It also has roughly 22,000 combines. In 1937, an average of 18 kilograms of fertilizer were applied to each hectare of farmland. Today, the average is 245 kilograms.

Importance has also been attached to the training of cadres for agricultural cooperatives. At present, all cooperatives have a full staff of crop production, veterinary, economic management, equipment repair and other cadres, all of whom have an academy or vocational middle school education and the majority of whom have graduated from agricultural technical schools.

The efforts made by the party and people of Czechoslovakia on the economic front have yielded increasingly large results. In 1980, gross national income was six times higher than in 1937. In 1984, industrial output was 13 times higher than in 1948. In 1984, Czechoslovakia, a country with a population of 15.5 million, produced 15 million tons of steel, 78 billion kilowatts of electricity, 129 million tons of coal and lignite, 227,000 automobiles and 34,000 tractors. Today, with a population that equals on 0.4 percent of the world's population, Czechoslovakia's industry annually produces 1.6 percent of the total industrial output of all countries in the world combined. On a per capita basis, Czechoslovakia's industrial output is more than four times higher than the world average.

In agriculture, Czechoslovakia harvested 12 million tons of cereal grains, 3.7 million tons of potatoes and 7.6 million tons of sugar beets, produced 5.1 million head of cattle, 6.7 million hogs and so forth in 1984. Thus, compared to 1948 and despite a 60 percent reduction in labor and a 10 percent reduction in the amount of area under cultivation, agricultural output has increased 2.2 times.

As a result of the development of both crop and livestock production, the grain and food needs of the people have constantly been met better. In 1983, the Czechoslovaks consumed 83.3 kilograms of meat, 328 eggs, 37.8 kilograms of sugar, 10.1 kilograms of vegetable oil and 220 kilograms of milk and dairy products per capita.

The economic growth of Czechoslovakia has not only strengthened the country's socialist system in every respect, but also made positive contributions to strengthening the world community of socialist countries. At present, sales to the socialist countries constitute 78.3 percent of Czechoslovakia's total sales to foreign countries. The contributions made within CEMA prove that Czechoslovakia has been playing an increasingly important role in socialist international cooperation and the socialist international division of labor.

The Vietnamese are very elated over the enormous achievements that the fraternal people of Czechoslovakia have recorded in every field.

On this the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, along with our heartfelt congratulations, we extend to the people of Czechoslovakia, a people led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia headed by the esteemed Gustav Husak, our wishes for many new and larger victories in the construction of developed socialism within their beautiful fatherland.

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CSO: 4210/10

## SOME THOUGHTS ON CHINA'S 'UNIQUELY CHINESE SOCIALISM'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 85 pp 100-106

[Article by Nguyen Thanh Le]

[Text] Long ago, socialism became the agenda of all progressive mankind. In his work "A Caricature of Marxism" written in 1916, Lenin stated: "All nations will achieve socialism, this is inevitable..."(1) Analyzing the character of our times, the 1960 Moscow Communique issued by the communist and worker parties clearly defined it as "an age in which more and more nations are following the path to socialism, the age of the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world."(2)

While affirming the inevitability of all countries following the path to socialism, Lenin predicted that each nation would incorporate "its own characteristics" in the stages and pace of the socialist transformation of social life, in the forms of state organization. The communique of the Conference of the Communist and Worker Parties of the Socialist Countries held in Moscow in 1957 stressed that "a party of the proletariat that disregards national characteristics will find itself being divorced from life, from the masses, will prove detrimental to the cause of socialism."(3)

On 1 September 1982, in his address opening the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of China, Deng Xiaoping declared that "following its own separate course and building a uniquely Chinese form of socialism, these are the fundamental conclusions drawn from the experience of our (China's) long history."

Does the so called "uniquely Chinese socialism" of Deng Xiaoping coincide with the "national characteristics" concept of Lenin and the 1957 Conference of the Communist and Worker Parties?

The answer to this question can be clearly seen in the words and, in particular, the actions of China's leadership in a number of fields of Chinese social life since the death of Mao, especially since the 3rd Plenum (December 1978) of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

## "Uniquely Chinese Socialism" in the Fields of Ideology and Theory

In the fields of ideology and theory, although China's current leadership says that it is building socialism in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, they also very strongly, very insistently emphasize that they are "following the thinking of Mao Zedong."

The resolution of the 6th Plenum (June 1981) of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated: "The thinking of Mao Zedong is the precious heritage of our party. It is of permanent value in guiding our actions. The important works of Mao Zedong...are still works that we must regularly study." The general platform of the Communist Party of China adopted at the party's 12th Congress states: "The Communist Party of China has Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of Mao Zedong as the compass guiding its actions."

However, historic fact has proven that the followers of Maoism have placed Marxism-Leninism beside the thinking of Mao merely as a matter of form, simply to camouflage the thinking of Mao. Moreover, their Marxism-Leninism has been "Sinoized." In the end, the thinking of Mao, or Maoism, is the only thinking, the only compass that has guided "socialist" construction in China. The "building of uniquely Chinese socialism" is nothing more than the building of so called "socialism" under the guidance of Mao's thinking, thinking that is a mix between petty bourgeois, especially peasant, thinking and bourgeois and feudal thinking. It is a nationalist trend, a clear expression of great Han nationalism.

In both practice and theory, Maoism represents a total break with Marxism-Leninism, with scientific socialism. It was Maoism that pushed the Communist Party of China into the swamp of bourgeois nationalism, "leftist" opportunism and rightist opportunism.

In philosophical terms, Maoism is a kind of idealism, a kind of pragmatism, is the opposite of the historical materialism and material dialectic of Marxism.

Maoism is big country chauvinism. It places a selfish national spirit above proletarian internationalism. It plots ways to achieve expansion and hegemony, to oppose the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries, especially neighboring countries.

Under the control of Maoism, China's "unique socialism" is, in actuality, identical to the "feudal socialism," the "petty bourgeois socialism" and the "bourgeois socialism" that Marx discussed nearly 150 years ago or to the socialism of the social-democrat parties, a type of bourgeois political party.

## The "Uniquely Chinese Socialism" in the Socio-Economic Field

Differences exist in the level of socio-economic development among the socialist countries as a result of the level of development of production forces, as a result of different approaches to and different degrees of transforming the old society and building the new. In addition, every country has its own historical and cultural traditions. Therefore, differences among



the socialist countries in terms of their level of social development, in terms of their forms of economic management are unavoidable.

What is this "uniquely Chinese socialism" like in the socio-economic field?

On 10 May 1984, during an interview with the American journalist Francis Gibney, China's Premier Zhao Ziyang stated: "China is not an easy country to classify." He criticized the classifying of countries by social system, calling such a practice "outmoded." He said: "...We do not distinguish among countries on the basis of their social system." In October, 1984, Zhao Ziyang said to a delegation of overseas Chinese: "We stand ready to implement any political guideline necessary to meet the above requirements (the four modernizations)... We will not be bound by any model, any resolution, any principle."

Recently, Deng Xiaoping advanced the concept of China being "one nation, two systems." In essence, this is a policy that opens the way for the capitalist socio-economic form to be restored and exist in China, opens the way for international capitalism to come in and pursue peaceful change in China.

Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, China's leadership, on the basis of the fundamental views presented above, has taken a series of socio-economic measures, measures which have included domestic economic reforms and the opening of China's door to foreign countries, which are considered two major national policies, two major strategies.

The economic reforms, which began in agriculture in the late 1970's with the dismantling of the people's communes, the development of many different economic segments and the introduction of production incentives among some farmers, have resulted in a certain number of achievements in grain and food production. However, the economic reforms in the countryside have been creating and will continue to create many complex factors, the consequences of which cannot be fully calculated.

The economic reforms in the countryside have led to the distinct weakening of the collective economy and the state-operated economy, to the vigorous development of the private economy and have deepened the social and class divisions in the rural areas of China. Land rents have been restored at many places. The direct exploitation of labor and exploitation through circulation and distribution have become widespread and are being encouraged by the press of the Communist Party of China through the slogan "get rich!"

Many years ago, China launched a number of economic reforms of an experimental nature in the cities. These reforms were officially adopted on 20 October 1984 at the 3rd Plenum of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and were considered to be of enormous historical significance, to mark a decisive turning point in the economic, political and social life of China.

The 20 October 1984 resolution still stands as a guideline and is only beginning to be implemented. Therefore, a full assessment of this document cannot as yet be made. However, on the basis of the experiments and the

expanded application of the results of the experiments in urban economic reforms as well as on the basis of the spirit of the above mentioned "resolution" and of the passages contained within it, we see that, on the one hand, China's leadership continues to reject the mode of management that existed during the era of Mao; on the other hand, they have deliberately and markedly reduced the role of the plan, of the state-operated segment of the economy and placed a very high degree of emphasis upon the role played by the market, by free competition, by goods, by the law of value, thus insuring the vigorous development of the private economy.

Commenting on the urban economic reforms instituted by China's leadership, the WASHINGTON POST wrote: "These reforms are viewed as a strong dose of capitalism designed to accelerate production and remedy the inefficient distribution system in China." Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES wrote: "Clearly, these changes will throw the official remnants of the socialist economy out the window of the people's commune."

It is not without justification that many China watchers in many countries, in both the East and the West, have observed how much the economic policy of the current leadership in China resembles a mixture of socialist factors and capitalist factors or, in the words of many Western bourgeois philosophers, the economic policy of China reflects the increasing convergence of socialism and capitalism. The remaining factors of socialism keep eroding, the factors of capitalism keep growing. This trend is especially evident in the special economic zones and the 14 coastal cities whose doors have been opened to the capitalist countries. Not long ago, the secretary of the party organization of the Communist Party of China in the Tham Quyen Special Economic Zone himself bluntly stated that capitalism will soon predominate within the zone.

In foreign affairs, China economic-technical relations with foreign countries are mainly relations with the countries of the capitalist system, especially with centers of imperialism, such as Japan, the United States and the European Common Market.

These facts provide reliable grounds to state that China is becoming ever more deeply involved in the capitalist international division of labor.

In summary, in the socio-economic field, China's "uniquely Chinese socialism" is characterized by the following:

The role of the state-operated and collective segments of the economy is being reduced. The non-socialist segments of the economy (the capitalist segment and small-scale, private production) are developing quote strongly, as a result of which one step in the restoration and development of capitalism has been taken in the cities and the countryside.

China's leadership has been taking increasingly positive steps to apply the economic management methods of the bourgeoisie, apply the economic laws and measures of capitalism to regulate China's entire economy.

China's "four modernizations" are based mainly on cooperation with the imperialist countries.

## "Uniquely Chinese Socialism" in the Field of Foreign Affairs

In 1920, in a speech at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Lenin said: "...What is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations... The second basic idea in our theses is that, in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the soviet movement and the soviet states headed by Soviet Russia... Only by bearing this in mind can new political problems be raised and correctly resolved by the communist parties in the civilized countries as well as the backward countries."(4)

These instructions of Lenin are the thinking, the foundation underlying the foreign policy of the socialist countries, of the communist and worker parties of the world.

China's current leadership has turned its back on Lenin's instructions regarding proletarian internationalism. They have invented a so called "new internationalism" as the framework for relations among the socialist countries, among the communist and worker parties, a framework based on only four principles: independence and sovereignty, complete equality, mutual respect and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs.

We all remember that the Conference of Delegates of the Communist and Worker Parties of the Socialist Countries held in 1957, in which the Communist Party of China participated, issued a unanimous communique that emphasized: "The relations among the socialist countries are based on the principles of complete equality, respect for one another's territorial integrity, independence and national sovereignty and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs. Although important, these are not the only principles that reflect the essence of the relations among the socialist countries. Fraternal mutual assistance is an integral part of the relations among these countries. This mutual assistance is a practical expression of the principle of socialist internationalism."(5)

China's leadership deliberately deleted the passages and references in the text regarding proletarian internationalism and socialist internationalism. Moreover, in their actions, China's leadership has not hesitated to trample upon all four principles of the "new internationalism" advanced by them nor have they hesitated to trample upon the five principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

The actions that China's leadership has taken in the field of foreign affairs since 1976 and 1977 alone are sufficient to show just how far removed from Marxism-Leninism they really are!

They did everything they could to build up the forces of the Pol Pot butchers so that they could carry out their disgusting policy of genocide in Cambodia. Since the genocidal Pol Pot regime was toppled by the people of Cambodia in January 1979, China's leadership, in coordination with the U.S. imperialists, with reactionary ruling circles on the far right in Thailand and with other

international reactionaries, have continued to do everything they can to breathe new life back into the Pol Pot regime and the other Khmer reactionaries who are opposing the independence, the sovereignty and the rebirth of Cambodia.

As regards Vietnam, China's leadership launched two wars of aggression against our country and they are now waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage and a war of encroachment and occupation involving tens of infantry divisions and numerous naval and air forces in a vain attempt to force Vietnam to submit to their big country expansionism and hegemony. They are also making loud threats about teaching Vietnam a "second lesson."

As regards Laos, China's leadership has continuously violated the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos and continuously intervened in its internal affairs.

In close coordination with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers, China's leadership has been waging an undeclared war against Afghanistan for many years.

China's policy regarding the countries of the socialist bloc used to be one of opposing the entire bloc. Recently, in a change of tactics, they adopted a devisive policy, trying to win over some countries and isolate others.

The Soviet Union, the first socialist state of progressive mankind, the pillar of peace and revolution, is considered by China's leadership to be a "superpower," to be the "great hegemonist."

In their rhetoric, China's leadership opposes both superpowers, which they consider to be one of the three main, basic tasks of China in the 1980's. However, in their actions, they have been developing ever closer relations in many fields, including military relations, with the U.S. imperialists, especially with the Reagan administration while directing the thrust of the struggle against the Soviet Union and fabricating the "three obstacles" to the fundamental and comprehensive normalization of relations on the state level with the Soviet Union.

As regards the communist and worker parties, China's leadership, having failed in their policy to turn these parties into Maoist parties, has shifted to encouraging opportunist and isolationist trends, thus going against the teaching of Marx and Lenin: "Proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!"

In many vital issues of our times, such as the issues of war and peace, of opposing the arms race policy of imperialism, in many issues of a global nature as well as regional issues, China's leadership is, in actuality, the accomplice of the U.S. imperialists and their camp.

On 5 June 1984, in Brussels (the capital of Belgium), Zhao Ziyang defended the pro-imperialist actions of China's leadership and argued that China does not pay attention to the social systems of the different countries, saying that "countries with different systems can establish very friendly relations with

one another. The fact that countries have the same system is no guarantee that they will have friendly relations." This is clearly nothing more than specious reasoning for a policy of intentionally not distinguishing between exploited countries and exploiting countries as Lenin pointed out was necessary, of intentionally erasing the line between the capitalist countries and the socialist countries and joining in the scheme to bring about the convergence of capitalism and socialism.

In summary, what are the characteristics of the "uniquely Chinese socialism" proposed by China's current leadership?

First, it is far removed from Marxism-Leninism and has Maoism as its ideological and theoretical foundation.

Secondly, from a practical point of view, it denies the leadership role of the working class, denies the role played by the proletarian dictatorship and advocates a policy of coexistence between the two opposing social systems, between the capitalist system and the socialist system, even within a single country, most importantly within China.

Thirdly, in all fields of social life, it is becoming increasingly further removed from the universal laws and general principles of scientific socialism.

Fourthly, it supports great Han chauvinism, consequently, it "recognizes internationalism in word but replaces it in deed with nationalism...in all propaganda, agitation and practical work..."(6)

These so called "national characteristics," this "special coloring" of "socialism" in China do not enhance Marxism as frequently claimed by China's leadership. To the contrary, they are distortions of the scientific socialism founded and developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. As a result, a rather sharp struggle over ideology and theory is underway within the Communist Party of China, a struggle that has, in recent days, been reflected to some degree in China's press.

As followers of Marxism-Leninism, it is our hope that Marxism-Leninism will be restored and win total victory in China for the sake of the interests of the working class and laboring people of China, the interests of the socialist community and all progressive mankind.

More than anyone else, the communists of Vietnam fervently hope that the Communist Party of China will return to Marxism-Leninism and resume leading the working class and laboring people of China down the correct path of scientific socialism, a path which they once followed and along which they recorded many outstanding achievements (during the period from 1949 to 1956).

While we are determined to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage and the war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the authorities in

China. We stand ready to normalize relations on the state level between our two countries and restore the long-standing friendly relations between the two peoples of Vietnam and China.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 30, p 160.
2. "Van kien Hoi nghi dai bieu cac dang cong san va cong nhan tai Moscow thang 1-1960"[The Proceedings of the Conference of Delegates of the Communist and Worker Parties in Moscow, January 1960], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 18.
3. "Tuyen bo cua Hoi nghi dai bieu cac dang cong san va cong nhan cac nuoc xa hoi chu nghia hop o Moscow tu 14 den 16 thang 1 nam 1957"[The Communique of the Conference of Delegates of the Communist and Worker Parties of the Socialist Countries held in Moscow held from 14 to 16 January, 1957], "Cuong linh cua chung ta"[Our Platform], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p 20.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, Volume 41, 1978, pp 290-291.
5. "The Communique of the Conference of Delegates of the Communist and Worker Parties...", p 16.
6. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 41, p 202.

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## COVER PAGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 1985 Inside Front Cover, Inside Back Cover, Outside Back Cover

[Text] Inside Front Cover

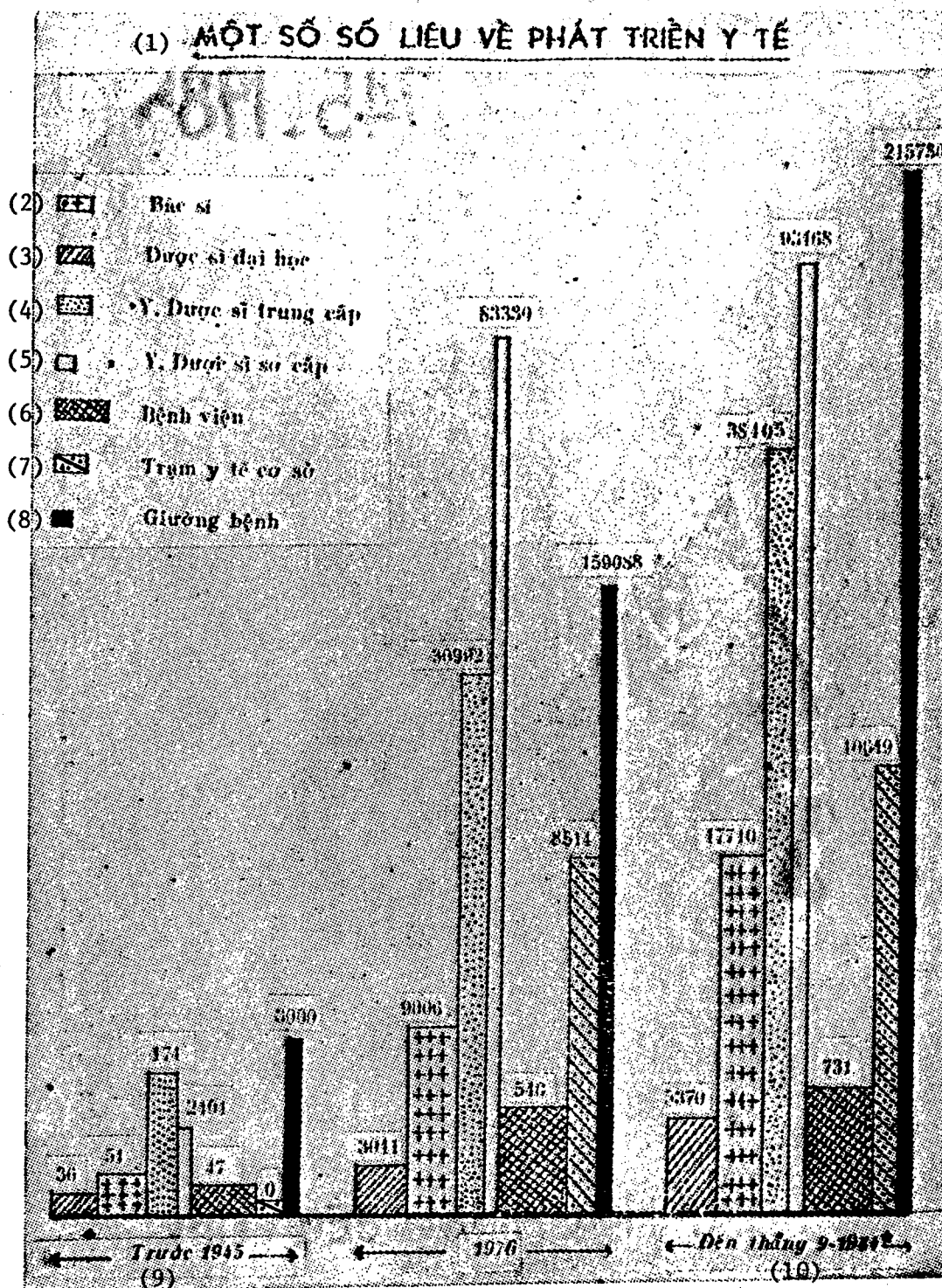
It is even more necessary that cadres and party members display a high spirit of responsibility to the party and the masses, that they wholeheartedly serve the people, that they love and respect the people. They must truly respect the people's right of ownership. They absolutely must not adopt the ways of a "revolutionary official" and begin issuing orders and showing their authority. They must fully adhere to the class viewpoint, correctly follow the mass line and sincerely do their best to learn from the masses. They must resolutely rely upon the masses, must teach and mobilize the masses to carry out each position and policy of the party and state. They must be honest and forthright. They must not conceal their ignorance, their shortcomings or their mistakes. They must be humble and close to the masses, not arrogant... They must not be subjective. They must always concern themselves with the living conditions of the masses. They must be "impartial and unselfish" and possess the spirit of "being the first to be concerned, the last to feel joy." These are the virtues of the communist.

Ho Chi Minh  
(1961)

Inside Back Cover [See chart on following page]

1. Some data on the development of public health
2. Doctors
3. College trained pharmacists
4. Physicians and pharmacists  
with a middle level education
5. Physicians and pharmacists  
with an elementary level education
6. Hospitals
7. Basic public health stations
8. Beds
9. Prior to 1945
10. As of September 1984

11. Note: the number of physicians and cadres who have a middle or elementary level education: computed as of the end of 1983



(11) Ghi chú: \* Riêng số cán bộ Y. Dược trung, sơ cấp: tính đến cuối năm 1983



## Outside Back Cover

"The Occupation of Berlin"[these words appear in red as the caption below a drawing mostly in black by Duong Huong Minh depicting Soviet troops marching behind a tank down a street in Berlin, Germany, to take occupation of the city at the end of World War II. The buildings to the right of these troops are in flames. To their left, a Soviet flag, also in red, is being extended from a balcony by a Soviet soldier. This flag dominates the lower lefthand quarter of the drawing. In the upper righthand corner, in red ink, are the dates: 1945-1985.

## Pictures

A full page, drawn portrait of Ho Chi Minh appears between pages 6 and 7. The caption reads: President Ho Chi Minh.

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END

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